

The History of Medieval Kashmir

**JONA RAJA
&
SHRIVARA**

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TITLE
THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL KASHMIR

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PUBLISHERS SUBMISSION

I am highly indebted to my revered respected and most remembered father Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad, himself a scion of an illustrious and noble family of publishers and printers, for introducing me to a trade which was to him a life time passion and which in turn became for me my only passion, engagement and my identity. Whatever our family stands for is the outcome of a long, strenuous and continuous struggle to help create among our Kashmir brethren a desire for learning, an urgency to enter the world of books and curiosity for knowledge.

It is no exaggeration to claim that ours was the concern which worked solicitously for the preservation, printing and publication of manuscripts which were otherwise fast deteriorating, unattended and unread in various dark dingy and damp "sites". We brought them to light and made the world aware of, and more responsive to them.

My grandfather Sheikh Abdul Gaffar is credited with the introduction of publication and printing of books way back in the early days of twentieth century by an arrangement with the Lahore Steam Press run by Hafiz-ullah. From his book house at Chattabal

which then was the hub of business activities in Srinagar, he initiated printing and publication auspiciously with Aurad-i-Fatiha and Auradi-i-Qadriya.

But before my grandfather could consolidate his trade and get my father introduced to its niceties he passed away.

My father, who was yet uninitiated to and un-ordained in the world of Books, had to bend his back to carry out the most sacred job of his life. He soon found Chattabal, too, small for his expanding work and established the concern Sheikh Ghulam Muhammand and Sons Tajran-e-Kutub at Maharaja Ganj Srinagar and then subsequently the most well known, awe inspiring concern Haji Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad and Sons at Maisuma Bazar, Budshah Chowk Srinagar.

Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad considered publication of Books a sacred duty a national obligation and a service to making. He was the president of Book Sellers and Publishers Association till his death in February 23, 1999 which was mourned by millions of Kashmiris; while others come and go he is the person who stands alluringly alone, aloft and above all.

As a lesser mortal and a man of humble ambitions I have dedicated my life in the service of man to facilitate his urge to know more, to help him achieve the most cherished goals of learning and knowledge.

The present publication is a part of our endeavors to preserve our heritage and let it be known to the broader world of Book-Lovers.

We highly thank our well wishers and assure them that we would never allow ourselves the comforts of rest till we achieve our objective the dissemination of knowledge in Kashmir. Have trust in us and let's have your good wishes

Sheikh Bashir Ahmad

Jay Kay Book shop

INTRODUCTION

The political upheavals, which visited Kashmir soon after the departure of Kalhana Pandita to *Parlok* (next world) could well have made him to say, had he any chance to revisit his Kashmir, '*after me the deluge*'. Scholarship under the circumstances became a lose labour which anybody could engage on a consideration. The perpetual economic instability and accompanying social disorders left hardly any time to feeble minded, neurotic and schizophrenic rulers to attend to arts and crafts and other intellectual past times and find means to help maintain the high and fine aesthetic traditions of their predecessors. For nearly 200 years, the mostly unruly rulers, opportunists and fortune seekers which included the non-local refugees from neighbouring countries beside the local Brahmans and small time "*warlords*" like Damaras, Chaks, Lavanyas and Khakhoras etc. and the most unfortunate and mostly marginalized Kashmiri masses known for their characteristic inconsistencies kept on struggling, in absolute contravention to the principles of unity, to salvage their ship flowing down with the waters of chaos and confusion and try to find out a place to tether their ship therein. Emergence of Muslim rule in the early fourteenth century of Christian era was hardly more than the transfer of power from one set of rulers to another. No substantial change occurred at this stage. The continuation of *The Rule*, was practically still conditioned by the offer or withdrawal of support from the principal power brokers of the time. Any run for the throne was generally considered as the family affair of the contesting parties; it was an opportunity for the allies of the contestants to set their shares right while it was one more inconvenience for the subjects concerned. Kashmir was not ruled from the centre but from the peripheries and its effective cum functional political boundaries were virtually delimited to the city

(Srinagar) and its adjacent areas. The Kotarajas, feudal lords, the arms wielding clans and groups of foot or mounted soldiers under the command of their immediate employer could even on small pretexts go for a war and establish or help establish independent or semi-independent principalities owing nominal allegiance to the rulers concerned. If one reads between the lines of the available historical records of Kashmir he will come to know that there were very small periods when Kashmir was really under one rule which commanded comparatively equal respect and allegiance of all those who mattered in political terms. Otherwise Kashmir history is replete with the events and incidents which allude to the fact of there being multiple rulers or centres of power who ruled their segments on their own terms and conditions. Most of the rulers established their own capitals away from Srinagar not only to distinguish themselves from their predecessors but also to meet the exigencies of the times. The highly exaggerated claims of a few of our early historians in favour of their rulers, is in most cases a figment of their imagination. These are the ironies of history that despite the tall claims of the historians, Kashmir could be subjected, plundered and maintained for a considerable time even by a small number of men acting together under an manipulative commander. Not to speak of petty hill rajas even bhauttas could come to rule this land or could maintain a kind of a pressure group for a long time. Then also there are records to show that there were actually very brief periods when Kashmir was really an independent and a sovereign country. Right from the ancient period to the present its political status and quality of its sovereignty kept on changing. The very first leaf of the Kashmir history opens with the culmination of its independent status in the aftermath of war with Yadus in which Gonanda III is killed

and the chief of Yadus Krsna establishes the pregnant queen of the slain Keing on the throne and directs the local Brahmans to respect and honour her rule. Soon afterwards we find Kashmir under the direct rule of Asoka and his successors, then under Huska, Juska and Kanishka, the three Kushana rulers and then under Tormana and Mehrkul. During Muslim period we see Kashmir reeling under Rinchana, Shahmera, Chaks Haidar Duglati, and Dogras of Jammu and a long list of foreign rulers who ruled from their seats of power away from Kashmir. On not too, encouraging economic resources and shrinking revenue returns the local rulers could hardly manage a regular army large enough to go for the expeditions and consolidate their power too. Rulers had to be dependent on the lords of their areas for the supply of men in case of an eventuality or an exigency or as and when required by the rulers concerned. Internecine wars, clan feuds, tribal incursions, and clash of interests resulted in the general devastation, massacres and loot and a further ruin of economic resources. Most of the temples in Kamrajya and Madvaraja, were used as forts by the rulers or soldiers in disadvantageous positions and were subsequently destroyed, brought down or looted by the besieging Hindu soldiers without any regard for the deity concerned. The temples were always considered as a treasure troves by the cunning Hindu rulers. Whenever these rulers wanted money or wanted to punish the Brahmans for manipulating mass troubles which they were always capable of, against the person of the ruler or the State, the rulers made these temples their target to draw required results or advantages. We could say, though not without caution, that the temples, like those of royal palaces, were generally considered as symbol of power and authority as well as presence of the rulers who established them and not absolutely a religious edifice over and above

any political consideration or connection. In most of the cases, the presiding group or the officers incharge, (in both the cases the brahmanas or purohits), brought the temple concerned in the centre of the conflict. Thus the destinies of the temple concerned were related to the destinies of the kings who established it or with the fate of and the Brahmanas who benefited from it or exploited it. Hence we witness, in the Hindu period of Kashmir, the breaking and burning of temples and melting down of or carrying off the deities along with the offerings by the rulers or war-lords to build the personal edifices or the temples in their own name or to meet their financial requirements. Periods of peace were always rare in Kashmir. Poor Kashmiri had to put up with all the whims and whimsical policies of his rulers. He was always in a disadvantage. He had hardly any other alternative than to run for life. He was subjected to multiple taxation. Rulers ruled through '*contractors*'. Or we may say, rulers farmed the state for the purpose of revenue collection and, in few cases, effective administration to the men found suitable for the purpose or to whosoever emerged as an embodiment of some power in his area. Theoretically a ruler had absolute power over his people and the lands, he could bestow jagirs (land grants) or entrust lands under his direct possession to the men of his "*choice*" for the management. Landlords could hold the possession of their lands at the pleasure of their ruler. These lands were of two categories; one, which was entrusted to them for management on temporary basis – on which they had no alienable rights and the second, the lands which came to them through inheritance or the pleasure of their ruler (as land grant). The general peasantry, too, could be in possession of two categories of lands; one, the lands which belonged to the state or feudal lord, and were given to a peasants for cultivation and the

lands on which he had, under normal conditions, inalienable rights. The state collected 50% of the share of the crops produced on its own lands through its contractors or feudal lords and 1/3 or ¼ of the produce on all other lands. What feudal lords or the managers (contractors) charged was always over and above what the state claimed. When a king like Zain-ul-Abidin Budshah issued orders to collect only 1/7 of the produce as state share, not even his own sons obeyed it.

The present Book, *The History of Medieval Kashmir* (1150-1470) originally written in Sanskrit comprises two volumes; volume one is the English translation of Jonarajas *Rajatarangini* and volume two the English translation of Shrivara's *Zaina-Rajatarangini*. The English translations are by Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Both these *Rajatarangini*'s deal basically with the Zain-ul-Abidins reign but Jonaraja, in order to build the historical background necessary to understand the events which led to the emergence of Sultanate (Muslim rule) in Kashmir, narrates the story of the kings from Jaisimha (1155 AD) to the reign of Kota Devi (1339) mentioning of course, significantly enough, the rule and person of Rinchana (1320-23) and the devastation brought by Dulchu, about whom we still know very little. Jonaraja, who is little nearer to the period which saw the establishment of the rule of Sultanate, than his successor Muslim historians, gives facts, most of which are latter on modified, twisted and dramatized and even distorted by his Muslim successors.

Towards the end of the Hindu rule, the major power brokers who emerged on the political scene of Kashmir were, besides the *ruling class*, *dejure* and *defacto* both, (a) *the Brahmans* who on the strength of their temples and the guilds which they had forged to protect their most mundane interests, had become too powerful and were virtually

involved in all palace intrigues and mischief's for a long time now; (b) *the Bhauttas* who had over a period of time come as refugees or in pursuit of their commercial interests and had eventually settled here and assumed respectability on the basis of their unity and warring capacity; and the (c) *sizeable populace of Muslims*, who as traders fortune seekers and refugees had come to settle here and had excelled, over a period as warriors, men of many skills and importantly as most dependable allies. Muslims though still in minority were a force to reckon with. The trust on them had psychological basis; they were, in particular, no bodies men and were unbiased. They were in know of their limitations and had till date acted as most loyal servants of their employees. These three groups were always present in the centre of the field of real action. Besides these three forces there were a few others like Damaras, Ekingas, Lavanyas, etc. who were in the strict sense of the term a – political, only interested in self aggrandizement and some immediate financial gains. These groups were generally marginal and peripheral in nature laying in wait to share in the exploits of other three major combatants. They were fraught with intra and inter group rivalries and acted often against each others interests. They were less organized but more ruthless.

One more agent of change in the political history of Kashmir was the foreign invader who came to loot and plunder and shook the foundations of Kashmir state. Dulchu was one such agent. Still earlier during the reign of Laksmadeva (1273-86 AD) Jonaraja mentions the invasion of one Turushka warrior Kajjala by name who restricts the reign of Laksmadeva's successor to the limits of Ledar valley only.

Suhadiva (1301-20) is mentioned as a benefactor and patron of outsiders, who in turn, served his political

interests. Rinchana is portrayed as an outsider who had political ambitions comparable to his strength and who was tolerated by the Suhadeva as an effective counter to the political ambitions of Ramachandra. Dulchu's invasion left Kashmir devastated, depopulated and devoid of its rulers. These were the very difficult times. Suhadeva finding himself alone, bereft of his men, whom he had nurtured and nourished with a purpose, fled from the city. Rinchana finding the throne empty, assumes it and proclaims himself the king. But in order to consolidate his power he began to lookout for possible supporters, who would not only accept him as their king unconditionally but would, also, be ready to offer sacrifices for his cause.

The Brahmans were on the basis of overall numerical strength, though presently in disarray, and self presumed religious superiority unwilling to accept him as their sovereign king and the Bhauttas alone were insufficient in number to help him keep and consolidate the power. He, therefore, had naturally his eyes on the Muslims, who were skilled in all kinds of warfare and still unattached to any particular group. Muslims, by themselves at this stage had little political ambitions and could have not been able to retain the power by themselves had they ventured to do so – as was evident by the subsequent events after the death of Rinchana in 1320 when Udyan Dev (brother of deceased king Suhadev is brought back from his self exile and is handed over the reigns of Kashmir and the hand of Kota Rani; thus Udyan Dev reestablished Hindu rule and sustained it for fifteen long years. Rinchana accepted Islam for:

- a) He thus got the support of a force who had already brought under their control the most parts of Kashmir neighbourhood

- b) He could counter any possible ambitions of the Brahmanas
- c) He, by associating with Islam which had, already achieved a status of world conquering civilization, himself achieved respectability and a kind of authenticity to rule.

Accepting Islam was more a political necessity for Rinchana than anything else. By marrying Kota Rani, the daughter of Ramachandra he further established his authenticity to rule for now he was, through Kota Rani, a member of a royal family of Kashmir; furthermore Damaras became his natural allies. The stories circulated by the latter historians need to be understood with this back ground in mind.

Same is the case with the events leading to the death of Kota Rani (1339). The Persian chroniclers have unnecessarily contorted the story related by Jonaraja. Kota Rani does not kill herself on the very first night of her marriage with Shahmera before the marriage is consummated. Jonaraja writes that she was won by assiduity and that Shahmera spent one night with her in the same bed but, "in the morning, he caused her to be captured by Tikshnas. Then on the tenth bright lunar day in the month of Shravana, in the year 15 (1338), the queen dropped from her kingdom like a star from the sky".

JONARAJA: *Life and Works*

Jonaraja, was engaged by the court of Zain-ul-Abidin to compile and compose in the first place the versified history of *Shah Miri* dynasty of Kashmir in the manner of more illustrious poet historian Kalhana (12th century) of *Rajatarangini* fame. By that time, he had established himself as a shaivist master (guru), a philosopher and a poet of great talent. The royal offer was less a favour bestowed upon him than a favour sought. Though he was not a historian by training or temperament he had however, an eye for events and a style to describe them; precision being its hallmark. About his engagement for the purpose he writes:

The story of the kings past was lost with them. Shri Zain-ul-Abidin asked Shri Shreebhatta, his noble hearted chief of the courts of Justice, to make arrangements to resuscitate them. The word was personally conveyed to me and I engaged myself to write their story till the end.

He undertakes his work with a word of caution to himself; he knows that his work which he calls a *Kavya* will be compared and contrasted with the epic of all times, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. Hence in a manner befitting a genuine scholar, offers his apologies for having to venture into a genre which is so masterly exploited to a purpose by his predecessor. His expression of modesty and humbleness speak about his total personality. He was a *bhattarica*, the presiding officer, over his own *matha* and deciples. Shrivara, the court chronicler of Zain-ul-Abidin and author of *Zaina Rajatarangini* being one of his disciples. He believed in an omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient Being, the merger with whose person he beseeched and preached.

His personality was remodeled and reshaped by this belief in the oneness of the reality. He was humble but upright

and expressed his observations fearlessly and objectively though without hurting anybodies sentiments and emotions.

Not much is known about his personal life. Whatever little we know about him comes either from his two commentaries he wrote on *Srikanthcarita* of Mankha and *Prthirajavijaya* of Rajanaka Jayanka or from his disciple Shrivara who mentions him in *Kathakanutuka* as his *Teacher* and a person of *noble conduct*. In his *Rajatarangini*, he calls himself Jonaraja (the Kashmiri variant would be Zoonrazi). He was the son of Pandit Bhatta Nona Raja and grandson of Shri Lola Raja as evidenced by a couple of stitches in his two commentaries and further confirmed by an episode in his *Rajatarangini* where a powerful and influential character tries to rob his father, Nona Raja, of his land by inserting a line **bhuprasath dashkan** in place of **bhu Prasathamaykam** in the document of sale deed. The whole episode runs as follows:

There was a Brahmana named Lolaraja who for some reason sold a plot of level land out of ten pieces which he possessed and the deal was effected in writing. Lolaraja died in the year of sale after telling his young son Nona Raja and others of the transaction. Nona Raja and others were weak and consequently the powerful purchasers took possession of the other nine pieces of plot as well though they were not sold. They were powerful and for a long time kept possession of the ten plots, but in order to secure them legally they forged entries in the document. Before the time of this king who is a careful judge they had caused the words "*Ten pieces of level land have been sold*" to be written by Nona Raja's son. I was in the court and was grieved that the land was thus forcibly taken possession of. Then by the king's order the litigants brought the document and the judicious king read it and threw it in water ... the newly written letters were effaced and the old ones remained showing that one piece of level land had been sold. The king then caused it to be read by courtiers ... I obtained some land, the forger received severe punishment.

In the commentary on *Prithvirajavijaya* of Rajanaka Jayanka Jonaraja twice mentions himself either as Jyotsnakara-lavrich or *Jyotsnabhido* (the latter could be a scribors error). Jyotsnakaralavrich means Jyotsna the son of lavnakar. Shrivara also mentions him by this very name while “eulogising his teacher:

There was on this earth, my teacher, called **Jyotsnakara**, who was forever a mine of the nectar of speech, a devote of Siva possessed wealth and fame, of true promise, who had subdued anger who was the *leader of the circle of Brahmanas*....

The words of Srivara confirm, that Jonaraja was a devote Shaivist who was adept in Vedas and codes of law which further allude to the fact that he was not a **tantrist** who least consider Vedas of any importance and indulge in five *makras*. His *Rajatarangini* has couple of statements which speak, by implication, his reservations for *tantricism*. He however believed in the concept of **Ardhanareshvar** – the union of Shiv and Shakti.

Jonaraja was the embodiment of many merits. “He looked like **Brahspati** in the royal court” and was “accompanied by a large body of followers”. His astute scholarship earned him a title of *Rajanaka* from the court, an epithet which he himself uses in the colophon put after the last canto of his commentary on *Srikanthacarita*.

The three commentaries, *Srikanthacarita* of Mankha, *Prthvirajavijaya* of Jayanka and *Kiratarjuniya* of Bhaurawi, are besides his magnum opus *Rajatarangini*, nearly his old age compositions. The commentary on *Kiratarjuniya* is completed as per the dates in its colophon in 1449 i.e., only ten years before his death in Saptarsi Samvat (45) 35 corresponding to 1459 as mentioned by Shrivara in his *Zainrajtarangni* (1,6). Earlier still, while composing his commentary on *Prithvirajavijaya* he complains about his old age disabilities and finds himself exhausted and dry and hardly able to complete the task in hand. *Srikancarita*, too

it seems by the inner coherence, continuity and pattern in the style, diction and phraseology corresponding to the other three works, to be, nearly from the same period.

Presently we are not in a position to speak about his early life and anything more about his achievements. He was the only son of his parents; was little interested in worldly affairs and seems to have raised no family or entertained no family or worldly relations. He was devotedly engaged in the spiritual guidance of his disciples.

Rajatarangini of Jonaraja is available in two recensions, one shorter recension comprising 976 shaloks (or verses) and another longer of 1334 shaloks. The earliest extant manuscript in Shards script is presumably of 17th century. It is supposed to have been scribed by one Rajanaka Ratankanth of *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana's fame. His scribal activities span a period from 1648/9 to 1685/6 A.D. though the Sharda manuscript does not bear any colophon or scribes name but Srinkanthji has on the basis of internal evidence which include fabrication of words and quality and colour of the paper assigned the manuscript to the same scribes. Rajanaka Rattankanth, scribed one of the manuscripts of Kalhans *Rajatarangini*, the codex latter used by Sir Aural Stein as his master copy.

- A. Copies of this shorter sharda recension are presently housed more importantly in
 - 1) *Research and publication division of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Srinagar under Acc No 213 dated Sarka 1785 (1863) and 1046 undated.
 - 2) *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* No 1718 dated 1875/6
- B. The longer recession is in Devnagiri script; some of its copies are presently housed in
 - 3) *Research and publication division of Jammu and Kashmir State* Srinagar (prepared by Madhusudan Koul)

4) *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Acc No 173 dated 1875/76

5) *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit* series No LIV 1896.

The Devnagri recession though based on shorter sharda recession is highly corrupt, with insertions and interpolations from various sources belonging to different periods. This recenssion, belonging to 1588, was allegedly presented to emperor Akbar who got it translated into Persian.

As is said earlier Jonaraja was not a historian by training. He was a spiritual guide, a practicing Shiavist and a poet. Royal offer was to him an opportunity to draw desirable lessons from the historical events and happenings and communicate them to his disciples for their guidance. Hence we find, unlike Kalhana, Shaloks expressing transitoriness of the life on earth and deterioration of moral standards. He does not interpret, elaborate or analyse the events as is done by Kalhana; he only states the events and explains them as punya and papa.

Jonarajas *magnum opus* is in the genre of a *Kavya*. Like any other *Kavya* he endeavours to embellish it with figures of speech, metaphors, allusions and puns. The tropes he thus uses often lead his readers astray. In order to give himself a freehand to accomplish poetic obligations he often not only compromises the authentic representations of proper nouns and place names but also distorts the events to fit into his preconceived poetic requirements. Most of the metaphors are repeatedly used without creating any new insight into the subject. However the work is, despite certain blemishes interesting as a piece of poetry and informative as an historical account.

SHRIVARA'S *Life & Works*

While Jonaraja was a kind of a Shavist saint with his own following and reputation and was never a member of a royal court Shrivara his disciple was variously attached to the courts of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and his immediate successors. He became, in his latter life, a close companion of the Sultan and accompanied him to various pleasure trips in Kramraja and Madhavarajya. The king bestowed upon him land grants and titles appropriate to his status.

Very little is known about his personal life but while going through his history *Zaina Rajatarangini* comprising 2150 Shaloks, one finds him master of many arts. He emerges as a better poet, epic writer and conversationalist than his guru. He excels as a musician singer and an expert in these arts.

As a commentator, he recreates vividly the whole scene of a pleasure trip to Vejayesvera where in the company of the king he attends the festival of flowers. When he writes about the battle fought at Pillasheela (Shopian) in 1452 between the king Zain-ul-Abidin and his younger son Hajya Khan he brings in all the pathos and misery and tragedy of the scene in his words. He has command over words and entertains his king by his talents.

It was his efficiency as an advisor and administrator and the sincerity of purpose which won him his coveted posts in the courts of Hassan Shah and his son Muhammad Shah.

Shrivara is a court historian and like any other court historian speaks about his patrons very highly leaving nothing good which he does not refer back to them. But

with all this he does not miss to describe, in proper metaphors and suitable tropes, the incidents, decisions or happenings which are not befitting to his personal aesthetic or moral values. He criticises Haider Shah for his drinking bouts and his tame submission to sycophants.

He creates occasions where he could speak about his own sentiments and expresses his own views, based on his moral education to censor the royal actions or decisions. His *Zaina Rajatarangini* gives immense aesthetic pleasure for the lovers of poetry and provides in-depth understanding about the psychic responses of the king (Zain-ul-Abidin) in the face of his rebellious, arrogant and comparatively inefficient sons.

Zaina Rajatarangini is basically the story of the events in the life of most illustrious king of Kashmir – **Bud Shah** Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470) though he carries the story forward to include his successors as well upto the time of Mohammad Shah. The epic comprises 2150 Shaloks or Stanzas out of which 800 stanzas specially mention the person, works, achievements and events in the life of Bud Shah alone for whom he is all praise. The present value comprises only these 800 stanzas only which pertain to Bud Shah only.

As a piece of poetry, the epic is of very high standard and uses metaphors and the major tropes to a effect and purpose. For every emotion, sentiment and gesture he comes with suitable metaphors. His narration vividly portrays the events and convincingly so. Shrivara ably puts his personal likings and disliking behind him. He narrates the events in comparative ease and with an objectivity that make his presentation more authentic and aesthetically charming. However, Shrivara does not forget to lend his narration a personal touch which makes the characters

involved more human and lively. Wherever he finds it necessary to censor an event or an action he aptly finds appropriate means to convey it.

Zaina Rajatarangini besides being a authentic piece of history is a masterpiece of poetry as well wherever he criticizes his king he resorts to third person narrator and puts his words in the month of "a character" who is absent.

Shrivara was very close to Bud Shah and knew very intimately what happened to him and how he reacted when his sons, one after another or in unison rebelled against him or brought disrepute for their family by their socially not acceptable actions and behaviour. He recreates the sorrow, pathos and sense of loss of the king in the most touching words. Shrivara narrates the events and makes comments on them in such way as to make them socially relevant even now.

Prof. Gulshan Majeed

Rajatarangini
THE KINGS OF KASHMIR (1150-1449)
JONA RAJA



King Zain-ul-Abidin

One half of Hara's¹ person was united with one half of Parvati's, as if they had become one through mutual affection. The other halves of their persons, adored in the three worlds, have disappeared as if in sorrow, because they could not unite. May the united figure be auspicious to you. May Ganesha with his ample form, dispensing joy and plenty every day to all around remove all difficulties from your path.²

Shri Gonarda³ and other virtuous and meritorious kings ruled the kingdom of Kashmira from the beginning of the Kali Yuga. But for a long time they were under an evil influence which lasted, like the darkness of the winter night, and no one knew of the kingdom, as no sun of poesy arose to disperse the gloom. Then the Brahmana *Kalhana*⁴ with lucid words imparted the freshness of youth to the old accounts of the kings down to the reign of *Jayasimha*⁵. It is owing to the fault of the country or to the misfortune of the succeeding kings that no one since then has revived the succeeding kings by the nectar like words of a poet. Now the spotless king *Shri Jainollabhadina*⁶ reins, am Jonaraja is ready to describe the royal line. As a tree which promiseth fruits is planted to remove the wants of the traveler, so is this poem composed to remove the grief of kings lest their glory be forgotten. And as the tree is grown by water, and without any artificial heat, so should this poem be carefully cherished by the good with the cool nectar of mildness. These past kings were sunk in the sea of oblivion, and Shri Jainollabhadina wished, out of a tender regard, to rescue them. He employed for the purpose the noble hearted *Shri Shiryyabhatta*, chief of all the courts of justice. I received orders from him, and I have now ventured to complete the story of the kingly line. My attempt is not dictated by a desire to obtain the fame of a

poet; for, vast is the difference between my words, poor and meager as water in dried ginger, and the flowing waves of poesy. Can a reed, imitating only the shadow of a lotus, equal the lotus? My poor sense is like a gourd, hollow and light, and relying on it, alas! I am attempting to cross the river of the story of kings. My feebleness in describing the merits of kings should not be blamed, for do not women, devoid of beauty, walk in pride when bedecked with jewellery? My subject, worthy of a poet, sustains and purifies me, even as the water of the Ganges, though it seems but ordinary water, purifies him who drinks it. I have made only an outline of the history of kings; let the skilful and artistic poets adorn it: a wheel rubs down jewels; it is a finer instrument that can impart beauty to the gems. The good and the noble peruse the works of writers without solicitation; does the moon await- solicitation before diffusing nectar on the earth? But the evil minded, even when propitiated, do not cease to find faults; the charcoal, even when washed by nectar, never attains whiteness. The desire that others should see my work has long departed from my heart, for it is an unworthy desire to wish for the approbation of others. The beauty of a common song and that of the Sanskrit language appear alike to the unskillful even as the monkey mistakes red seeds for sparks of fire in winter. The ignorant are not affected by listening to poetry; it is those alone who have strength of teeth that perceive the sweetness of the sugarcane in their mouth. When the pure minded and the meritorious are filled with thoughts of envy when a composition embellished with sense and sweetness is placed before them. Fate is foremost among those who cannot bear to see the prosperity of others; Fate has stained the moon with spots, and fate has filled the learned with envy, as with a consuming disease. Fate is therefore an object of reproach. Let my work which is mingled with that of Kalhana Pandita be accepted, for even the water of a reedy marsh is taken for drink when it has mingled with the water of a river.

There was a prosperous king, the son of *Sussala*⁷, who

delighted the world and respected the gods and the twice born. Though he was known to ride the elephant alone, yet, O! Wonderful! Prosperity always rested on *Jayasimha*. He was brought up by the goddess of learning, as by his mother, and he enjoyed the company of the goddess of fortune. They abided in him together, like a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law, and did not display hostility towards each other. Once upon a time he received into his court *Malla* born of the family of *Susharmma* the king of *Trigartta*⁸. *Malla* had been banished from his country by his enemies, and had come here with a view to obtain a livelihood. Medicinal herbs are every where regarded as mere grass, and jewels as mere stones; and men of merit too, who have traveled in foreign countries, are treated as ordinary men, until they excite the heart of the people by great deeds and distinguished achievements. When the king marched to subdue the kingdom of the *Yavanas*⁹, *Malla* became the favourite of the soldiers on account of his great valor. Strong in his courage, *Mallachandra* went at night to the camp of his enemy in order to ascertain the number of the king of the *Turushkas*'s¹⁰ soldiers that had survived slaughter. There where even a breath of wind could not enter, where the place was guarded by powerful soldiers, *Malla* went in among the enemy's troops, no doubt by the force of incantations and charms. But afraid of committing a sin by any hostile act towards those who were sleeping, he did not kill the king of the *Yavanas*, but only placed a pair of shoes, marked with his own name, on the head of the king, as his turban. The enemy recognized the shoes, took them with him and went to the camp of the king of *Kashmira* and surrendered to him his fortune, as if he yielded to him his fame. In the year 30, in the month of *Phalguna*, on the twelfth day of the dark moon, the king died in the midst of his prosperity, and greatly gladdened the eyes of celestial damsels.

Then the indolent people annointed his son *Para Manuka*,¹¹ even as the days of the month of *Magha* which scatter the leaves of trees, annoint the *Kunda* tree. The king

neglected the duty of protecting his subjects and also of making foreign conquests, and he began to accumulate wealth, such as would never be exhausted. But the wealth of the king was like that of a Brahamana who follows the injunctions of the Vedas; he could neither give it away to others nor enjoy it himself; and it was robbed by the two cheats *Prayaga*¹² and *Janaka*¹³. These men were devoid of truth, and they caused their servants to assume the form of Rakshasas, and night after night they used to frighten the king of strange performances. These evil minded ministers pretended affection for the king, and induced him to spend his money to save his life from the Rakshasas. On one full moon night in the month of Chaitra, a dependant of theirs was stationed at *Bhishayaka* dressed as a Rakshasa chief, adorned with precious jewels but covered with grass. And as the signal was given, he stood forth in the presence of men, blessed the king, and took away his ornaments, and retired into the forest by night. Then these two men told the king that since the Rakshasa chief had accepted the king's offerings and had blessed him, his kingdom would be without danger. Thus the wily men frightened the worthless king like a child, and robbed him of all his wealth. The king, after reigning for nine years, six months, and ten days, died on the eighth bright lunar day of Bhadra, in the year 40.¹⁴

Then his son named *Varttideva*¹⁵ reigned. He died on the tenth bright lunar day of Bhadra, in the year 47.

For want of a worthy successor the citizens elected one named *Vopyadeva*¹⁶ their king. He was like the Rakshasa chief covered with grass, and to him homage was paid. Once this foolish king felt happy at the sight of large blocks of stone, and he ordered his ministers to increase the size of the smaller ones by making them drink the milk of beasts! On one occasion this foolish prince heard of the greatness of the shrine of *Sureshvari*,¹⁷ and, accompanied by his ministers, came there by boat. He made faces on the water, and was angry at seeing his face disfigured in the

reflection; and he thereupon struck the water with his palm, so that his jewel ring fell into the water. When asked where the royal jewel seal was, he pointed to the ripple of the water and said that it was in the ripple. He was the very model of a dunce. He reigned for nine years, four months, and two and half days.

His younger brother *Jassaka*¹⁸ was also a great dunce; and though he did not wish to have on him the weight of the kingdom, he was appointed king by the *Lavanyas*¹⁹ who wished their own aggrandisement. The parrot which imitates the human voice is caught but not the crow; stony soil is not ploughed and dug like fertile land; and stones are not powdered to dust like rock-salt. The very faults of some persons are advantageous to them like merits. There were two Brahmana brothers named *Kshuksha* and *Bhima*. By fraudulent means they earned the affection of the king, and then they became disobedient. They thought that as they were rich and powerful, the king would not be able to check them, and so they did not endeavour to strengthen their party by taking in other men. And it was only the power of the *Lavanyas*, and not any other apprehension, that kept them from attaining the regal state. Alas! That a sweet but unwholesome dish should ever be taken! Alas! That a young but false woman should ever inspire love in man by her embraces and her show of affection! For they both bring affliction, and if unchecked, cause death by their poison. The wife of *Kshuksha* became disgusted with him as he, owing to old age, had lost his vigor; and she killed him by poison and received *Bhima* to her embraces. Owing to her intimacy with her husband's brother, her body came to be marked with white patches; but her sin was lightened by her gifts to *Madhava* and other gods. The king after ruling the country for eighteen years, and ten days died on the tenth lunar day of dark moon, in the month of *Magha*, in the year 74.

Then his son *Shri Jagadeva*²⁰, who was powerful, yet humble, contributed, like the month of *Chaitra*, to the

delight of the people. He looked with an equal eye on the servants of the state who had been contending with one another; even as the evening finds the blue and the white lotus alike. He was well versed in science, and as a surgeon extracts a dart, he rooted out the evil laws of the country. He was a person of great merit, and penetrated like a dart in the mind of men; but evil counsels prevailed, and he was expelled from the country by the ministers. As Rama received his friend, the king of the monkeys, in the wilderness, so did he, in his exile, receive his discriminating minister, *Gunakarpahula*. In the hope of rising again to power, the king and the minister came back to Kashmira like the sun and the moon, and the people wondered at their deeds. Unwilling to relinquish the power they had so long enjoyed, the enemies of the king prepared to fight; but they fell under the devices and the prowess of the king and his minister, even as the insects fall into the fire. The king conquered the country and enjoyed the fortune that smiled on him and the royal umbrella and the Chanara; and *Shri Gunakarahula* also enjoyed prosperity, without these royal insignia. The disinterested king built a temple at Rajjupura and adorned it with a silver umbrella. Then the wicked Padma, lord of Dvara, pretending affection for the king, as if he were a friend, secretly gave him poison and killed him. After ruling the country for fourteen years, six months, and three days, the king died on the fourteenth day of the dark moon, in the month of Chaitra, in the year 89.

His son *Rajadeva* had gone to *Kashtavata* in fear, but he was brought back by the enemies of the lord of Dvara. And when *Rajadeva* had entered a fort named *Salbana*, *Padma*, of wicked design, surrounded him with troops, even as a serpent is surrounded by a magic line. The lord of Dvara had in the meantime received a present of a curious pair of shoes, and in his curiosity to see it he was off his guard, and was killed by a *Chandala* in a scuffle. Then the *Bhattas*²¹ appointed *Rajadeva* king, with the sound of kettle drum and conch shell, and innumerable feudatory

chiefs bowed to him, and he bestowed favours on servants. The great king apportioned work among the chief men of the Lavanyas in the same manner as before, and they worked like relatives living together.

The powerful *Baladhyachandra*, lord of *Lahara*²², with his soldiers usurped power over half of Shrinagara, and the king was unable to cope with him. This powerful man caused a matha to be built within the city, even like an embodiment of his virtues, and marked the matha with his name. In the meantime the Bhattas had been insulted by the king, and for a long time they held consultation to find some one with a mild temper among the Khasha tribe, whom they would elect king. It was then determined to plunder the *Bhattas*, and then was heard from among them the cry, "*I am not a Bhatta*," "*I am not a Bhatta*²³." At this time, namely in the year 950 of the Saka era *Vimalacharya* corrected the mistake that every 976th month would be considered an unclean month. The disinterested king *Rajadeva* who was like the moon, signalized his prosperity by building *Rajapuri*²⁴ and *Rajolaka*. He died after reigning for twenty-three years, three months, and twenty-seven days.

His son *Sangramadeva* became the king, and he terrified his enemies as the lion does the elephants. He made his younger brother *Suryya* his viceroy, out of affection, but this wicked conspirator, tempted by the lust of enjoyment, thought of rebellion. Afraid of the king who had heard of his intention, he entered the territory of *Chandra*,²⁵ the lord of *Lahara*, with view to rise against his brother. Strange! That at this time when the fierce *Suryya* joined *Chandra*, this earthly sun, together with the moon, was eclipsed like the sun in the sky. *Tunga*²⁶, the lord of *Shamala*²⁷, proudly carried *Suryya* by his side, but the king went against him and humbled him. *Suryya* then went by a road devoid of the sun and the moon, and deserted by his dissolute attendants, was captured, and caused to be killed by the king. The sons of *Kalhana* were evil men, they

rose in power; and the king, who was anxious to save his royal state, feared them as serpents. And when the kinsmen of the sons of *Kalhana* attained power, the king lost all hopes and took shelter with the peaceful lord of Rajapuri. When the king had thus retired to a distance, the Damaras began to suck the very life-blood of the people. Deserted by the wise king and by Brahmanas, the kingdom was for a long time devoured by the Domaras, even like food polluted by the touch of low people. The king was sheltered in the kingdom of another, his own country was in anarchy, and no one thought that his re-appearance was near at hand. He overcame his enemies however in battle near Raja Puri, but did not kill the sons of *Kalhana* because they were Brahmanas; and thus he gained his kingdom and attained virtue. At *Vijaeshvara* the king built a house named *Shrivishala*, containing twenty-one rooms for the habitation of cows and *Brahmanas*. But the king was hated by the secret agents of his enemies, the sons of *Kalhana* who were intent on plunder, even as a lamp is hated by thieves' intent on theft. Beneficent to poets, as the kalpa tree with its extended branches, the king was cut down by the evil minded and wicked sons of *Kalhana*. *Yashaka*, a learned poet, made the king the hero of his composition, and it was like the necklace, an ornament for the learned. The king, who was a benefactor of his country, was slain on the fifth lunar day of Bhadra, in the year 28, after ruling the kingdom for sixteen years and ten days, His son *Ramadeva* then executed the murderers of his father and entrusted the duty of governing the people to Prithviraja. The king built a fort at *Sallara*²⁸ on the right side of *Ledari*. It was marked with his name, and was like a monument of his fame. When preparations were made for the subjugation of *Shamala*, the temple of Vishnu at Utpalapura²⁹ had been broken through carelessness. This temple was now renewed. Alas! Vidhata has not given a Bower to the sandal tree, or fruit to the champaka; and he gave no offspring to this king. The king adopted as his own, the son of a certain Brahmana who inhabited Bhishayakapura. The strong

affection that existed between the kin and his adopted child was like that of a father for his own son; even as a good painting is like the object painted. The queen *Shri Samudra* was like the full blown daughter of the sea, and she built within the city a matha marked with her name, on the banks of the Vitasta. The king reigned for twenty-one years, one month, and thirteen days, and died in the year 49.

His successor, *Lakshmanadeva*, filled with the lore of the six branches of learning, supported with difficulty, the weight of the kingdom. A Brahmana by birth, he did not part with the qualifications of his own caste, though he was made a Kshatriya. A painted stone does not take the beauty of a jewel. Manila, his stainless queen, built a new matha, marked with her name, on the banks of the Vitasta, by the side of her mother-in-law's matha. The *Kajjala*³⁰, a dark and fierce Turushka came to Mandala from outside, and destroyed the king who was the eye of his subjects. He reigned for thirteen years, three months, and twelve days, and died at the end of the month of Pausha of the year 62.

Owing to the commotion caused by *Kajjala*, *Simhadeva* became the king of Ladari only. He was harassed by *Sangramchandran*, lord of Lahara. When *Sangramchandra* died, *Simhadeva*, a lion among men, ruled the kingdom reduced in size, and built a matha within the city. The virtuous *Simhadeva*, during the ascendancy of the constellation Leo, associated himself with his religious preceptor and established an image of *Nrisimha* at *Dhyanoddara*³¹. The image set up, and the king who set it up, the preceptor who helped him in the act, and the constellation under which the act was done, all bore the name of lion. One day the king caused the god *Vijayeshvara*³² to be bathed in milk purchased with one lakh pieces of gold (*nishka*), and attained purification by his religious act. *Shri Sankarasvami* was the religious preceptor of the king, and the king gave him, as the fee of his tuition, the lordship over eighteen mathas. When the

king rose from his bed he always chanted the following verse: "I bow to Sankara the lord of Gauri, whose eyes are pure as fire, whose feet are worshipped by the learned, and who is bedecked with the crescent of the moon. A verse, such as this, smoothed his path to the future world, and like an offering to the goddess of speech, instructed the soul. Once upon a time the king passed orders to punish a man for his daughter's evil character, but revoked those orders at the request of Idagali³³, a dancing girl".

By keeping company with bad men the king became devoid of his belief in God. His nurse had a daughter who was like the mirror of the god of love, and on this mirror the king's image was reflected! Her husband *Darya*, with the help of *Kamasuha*, killed the haughty king with whom his subjects had now become annoyed. The king reigned for fourteen years, five months, and twenty-seven days, and died in the summer of the year 77.

Then his brother *Suhadeva*³⁴, though not of very active habits, subjugated the whole of Kashmira, with the help of *Kamasuha*. Many people came from various quarters and resorted to the king for service, even as black bees resort to the flower tree. Like a second Arjuna, the king established his authority on the borders of Panchagahvara³⁵, and his son *Vabhruvahana* built the town of *Garbharapura*³⁶.

Shahmera (1339-1342)

*Kurushaha*³⁷ was born of noble family, and the mark of the bow string on his arm, bright as fame, was beautiful as sun rise on the summit of a hill. He had three eyes; it was as if to proclaim to the people that his children, the famed *Enamukhi* and others would rule in Kashmira, and that the rulers of that country were a portion of the three eyed Hara. From him was born *Taharaja* whose quivering bow string was often pulled to the ear. Then was born *Shahmera*³⁸, the ardour of whose prowess was like the summer sun, and the fire of whose valour was excited by the tears of his enemy's wives. Once on a time, *Shahmera* was wandering in a wood, and his eye were at first intent

on game, but was eventually closed in sleep. In his dream the great goddess told him in words of nectar that the kingdom of Kashmira would come to his progeny. In the year 89, in the shaka year 1255, he slowly came into Kashmira. He came with his relatives, and the king of Kashmira greatly favoured him by giving him a salary, even as the mango tree favour the black bees.

At this time, *Dalcha*³⁹, commander of the army of the great king *Karmmasena*⁴⁰, came to Kashmira, as comes a lion into the cave of the deer. He brought with him sixty thousand mounted force, as if intending to conquer and bestow as many villages to his army. The bad king intended to send back *Dalcha* by granting him a subsidy, and imposed a tax on the people of all castes. The Brahmanas, as if to expiate, by the sacrifice of their lives, the sin of having received gifts before from such a king, determined to die by fasting.

Rinchana (1320-1323)

At this time the *Kalamanya Bhottas*⁴¹ Bhuteas, who had become the enemies of *Vakatanya*, deceitfully killed him with his friends and relatives. But one of *Vakatanya*'s sons, named *Rinchana*⁴², respected for his great intellect, escaped the massacre by chance, and was to the *Kalamanyas* what the fire is to the forest. He joined *Vyala*, *Takka*, and others who had combined together in council, and determined to crush the poor witted *Kalamanyas*. *Rinchana* sent word to the *Kalamanyas* through a messenger that he had been robbed of all his wealth, and asked to be enrolled as a servant of the *Kalamanyas*. *Rinchana*, a lion among men, hid his arms in the sands of a river bank, and waited to drink the blood of the *Kalamanyas*, not to receive their wages. The *Kalamanyas* came unarmed, and *Vyala* and others, with their fire like axes which had been hid in sand, destroyed them like grass. Thus having cleansed the treason against his father in the blood of the enemies, *Rinchana* came to Kashmira with his friends through fear of the many enemies that yet

remained. In order to destroy the prosperity of *Ramachandra*,⁴³ who was like the sun on earth in his fullness, *Rinchana*, like a Rahu, was suffered to rise in the blue sky. *Dalacha* like a fire brand, harassed the country, and that people of Kashmira became like insects in that fire. *Dalcha* and *Rinchana* blockaded the town in the east and in the north, and the people first fled towards the west and then in the direction of Yama [south]. *Dalcha* was like a billow in the water, and on the hill, *Rinchana* was like a tempest, while the chief men in the town, the prosperous and the rich, were struck with fear. As the kite swoops on the young ones of the birds thrown out of their nests, so the swift army of *Rinchana* seized the people of Kashmira. *Rinchana* obtained wealth, plentiful as water, from the Bhottas, by selling the people of Kashmira, and reared himself like a cloud, and covered all sides. At this time *Dalcha* destroyed innumerable gods, and afraid of the excessive cold of Kashmira, went out by a good military road. When *Dalcha* had left the place, those people of Kashmir who had escaped capture, issued out of their strongholds, as mice do out of their holes. When the violence caused by the Rakshasa *Dalcha* ceased, the son found not his father, nor the father his son, nor did brothers meet their brothers. Kashmira became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with few men, without food and full of grass. *Dalcha* took away the strong men from the country, and *Rinchana* established his supremacy there; when darkness covers the earth, unchastie women find it to their advantage.

The king was now completely freed from the Rahu like *Dalcha*, but *Rinchana* like the lofty, high crested mountain of the setting sun sought to block his way. When the people saw the glowing *Rinchana* stationed on the mountain that touched the sky, no one doubted that the decline of the king's power was nigh. *Rinchana* intended to pounce upon the city like a royal hawk on a piece of meat, but *Ramachandra*, the moon of his dynasty, opposed him at every step. *Rinchana* deceitfully sent a few Bhottas every

day who came into the fort of Lahara under the pretence of selling clothes. And when the Bhotta people had thus entered Lahara, *Rinchana* caused their weapons to drink the honey like blood of Ramachandra. The queen Kota⁴⁴ was as the Kalpa creeper in the garden of Ramachandra's house hold; but now the strong armed *Rinchana* planted her on his own breast. The king left the city in fear of Shri *Rinchana*. A Brahmana's curse destroys a race like fire, nor is there a spot where scions of that race can grow. Struck with fear, the king, like a jackal, entered a large cavern in Mandala. How should a sinful man meet death in battle? The cloud like enemy poured the blood of the king's forces in battle, and dried up the tears in the eyes of the Brahmanas whom the king had fined! This Rakshasa of a king, under the pretence of protecting the country, devoured it for nineteen years, three months, and twenty five days.

The country was weary of trouble and disorder, and Shri *Rinchana Suratrana*⁴⁵ gave it rest under the shelter of his arm. When the dark days disappeared, the people of Kashmira witnessed again all the festivities which they had beheld under their former kings. In every place the Lavanyas remained quiet as lamps, but trembled at the power of the king, like lamps in the morning breeze. A division was made among them by the secret devices of the king, even as an arrow is sent into a reft. Strange that the unity among the Lavanyas was thus relaxed. Easily like the birds in the sky, the king roamed in that thorny wood where even the god of love had become bewildered. The king knew very well how to bestow his favours on all, but he never forgave the wicked, although he might be his son or minister or friend; it was thus that he served his people's weal. After having destroyed his prosperous and powerful enemies and having placed the royal umbrella over his head, *Rinchana* went to *Achchhoda* Lake.

Now *Timi*, brother of *Tukka*, feeling weary in the way, took some milk from a milk-woman in a village by force,

and drank it. The milk-woman instantly informed the king of it; and when questioned by the king, Timi was struck with fear and denied what he had done. The milk-woman, who was suspected of falsehood, did not lose her presence of mind. The king then caused Timi's stomach to be cut open in order to ascertain the truth, and from the severed stomach milk issued in a stream. The face of the milk-woman was gladdened at this act of the king. There were two men living at Vanabala, they had two mares which gave birth to two foals, similar in appearance, in a wood. One of the mares lost its young which was seized by a lion, but owing to the similarity in appearance, behaved towards the other as if it were its own offspring. Both the owners of the mares claimed the foal as their property, and unable to settle the dispute, went to the king. The king listened to their contention, and caused his own men to bring the two mares and the foal to him. The foal jumped about, playfully, owing to its young age, and went to some distance, while its mother and its nurse both signified their affection for it and neighed. The courtiers were unable to give any opinion, and the two owners accused each other. The king took the two mares and the young one in a boat to the middle of the Vitasta. Then the wise king threw the foal into the river from the boat; whereupon its mother instantly jumped into the river after it, while the other only neighed. Thus when the difficult suit was settled, the people thought that the golden age had returned.

The king asked Shri *Devaswami* to initiate him in the mantras of Shiva, but as he was a Bhotta, *Devaswami* feared that the king was unworthy of such initiation, and did not favour him. *Vyalaraja*, in his regard for truth, became to the king as his younger brother, his son, kinsman, minister, companion, and friend. *Vyala* was not influenced by the king's acts, but the king was influenced by those of *Vyala*. The mind is not influenced by the actions of the body, but the body is influenced by the workings of the mind. The inclinations of the king, who was like the sun to the world, were reflected on *Vyala* who

was well versed in the Sastras and was possessed of good taste, and destroyed the impenetrable darkness of the world; even as do the rays of the sun when reflected on the watery moon.

At this time *Shri Udyanadeva of Gandhara*, impelled by fear, and also intending to take advantage of the king's weakness, thus directed Tukka and others:- "While the king is yet alive, you should enter the city which he is ruling with prudence with a view to acquire fame. *Vyala* is enjoying there the prosperity which you have earned even at the risk of your lives, even as the tongue enjoys what the hands acquire by their industry. As Mahadeva besmearing his body with ashes and discarding golden ornaments induces snakes to coil round him, even so the king, who possesses plenty of riches, is raising *Vyala* to power, and neglects you though belonging to a high caste. Afraid of your valour, he killed Timi, simply for taking some milk, as one kills a timi". This message alienated Tukka and other Shukkalankitas from the king, and they conjointly attacked him at *Vimshaprashta*. *Vyala* struck them with his sword, and expelled out of them their pride begotten of wealth. The king fainted, and his enemies believed that he had been killed, and that they had obtained the victory. Their wrath was assuaged, and ambitious of seizing the kingdom, they entered the capital. The king, afraid of receiving another blow, had for a short time remained like one dead; but when he saw that the enemies had proceeded to some distance, he got up. By the time that these men of little sense had reached the capital, they saw the king who had recovered from his swoon, and was approaching them. Then these impudent and poor witted men became afflicted with sorrow, and asked one another whether the king had not been killed by one of them, and they quarreled among themselves. They robbed the palace and became angry with one another, and they accomplished their own destruction, a work which the king should have done. The haughty king then impaled the survivors, thus he lifted them high, but down they went. The angry king

ripped open by the sword the wombs of his enemies wives in the fort, who were with child, as one tears open beans by the finger nail. The violence of the king's mind inflamed by the treason of his enemies was thus pacified by the destruction of their descendants; but the wound caused by their word on his head was not healed. As one, who has dreamt an evil dream, is relieved of his feat on awaking, so that the world was relieved of fear and obtained peace after witnessing for a while the deeds of Tukka.

The king was pleased with *Shahamera* who was not implicated in the treason, and he placed in his hands his son Haidara together with the child's mother Kota, for the purpose of bringing up the prince. Nourished by queen Kota and brought up under the care of *Shahamera*, the child grew in beauty, even as a tree brings forth new leaves when nourished by rains and protected by shade.

The king caused a town to be built after his own name, and it was surrounded by a moat, as if by the disgrace of his late mishap. As the sun shines for a time on the world, on a cloudy day in the month of Pausha, so did the king shine again for a few months. In the dewy season, the wound on the king's head became worse, in consequence of nervous disorder brought on by the inclemency of the cold. The king had relieved many people of their heads, but alas! his head became worse. On the eleventh lunar day of the month of Pausha, in the year 99, the physician Death relieved the king of his death pangs. King *Rinchana* went to heaven after having ruled the country for three years, one month, and nineteen days.

His son *Haidara*⁴⁶ being young was not coronated by *Shahamera*, and as *Shahamera* had not the necessary strength, he did not himself rule the kingdom. The Lavanyas, though they had risen against *Rinchana*, did not oppose the wise *Sahamera*, as he was the chief of his tribe; and *Shahamera* bestowed on *Udayanadeva*⁴⁷ the country of Kashmira, together with queen *Kota* who was like the goddess of victory incarnate. The exalted but fickle goddess

of Royal Fortune, who is sought by men of worth, left *Rinchana* and went to the present king, as if she descended from a high station to a low one. The king then gratified *Jyamshara* and *Allesha*⁴⁸, two sons of *Shahmera*, by bestowing on them the lordship of *Kramarajya* and other places. At this time queen Kota was all powerful; she was, as it were, the mind, and the king, the body, who carried out her orders. The *Lavanyas*, who had like stars been hidden by the rays of the sun like *Rinchana*, now shone out during the reign of the present king, as at nightfall. Why should it cause any regret that the *Lavanyas* attacked the possessions of the feeble king whose very house was in the power of Kota? The king did not molest the country of the *Lavanyas* or the abode of the *Chandalas*, but like one versed in the *Vedas*, he spent his time in bathing, in penance, and in prayer. How shall I describe his faith in God who dressed himself like a hermit, and who tied bells in the neck of his horses, through fear lest worms should be crushed to death. To god Vishnu he gave all the golden ornaments in his treasury, making them into a crown and necklace for the deity.

At this time the proud *Achala*⁴⁹, whom the lord of *Mugdhapura*⁵⁰ had supplied with soldiers, forcibly entered Kashmira, like another *Dalcha*. *Achala* attacked the country and filled all sides with his partisans, but the king did not deal with him as Indra dealt with the mountain (*achala*) which harassed the world with its wings. When the army of *Achala* reached *Bhimanaka*, the king was humbled and speedily fled to the country of the *Bhottas*. Then Kota sent a letter to *Achala* through the ministers stating that, as the country was without a king, he might govern the kingdom as if he were the head of the dynasty, and asking him to send away the soldiers who were not his own, and not to harass the country needlessly. *Achala* was deceived, and he sent away the army of his ally. The foolish *Achala* who had sent away his army was then detained by the ministers on pretence of celebration of festivities in the way. In the meantime queen Kota set up one *Rinchana*⁵¹, a

Bhotta, as king, with a view to protect her subjects in the capital. All the friends of *Achala* sorrowed for a long time over his want of sense, as a widow sorrows over the death of her child born after her husband's death. The fear of king Udayanadeva⁵² now abated; he spent a day in the worship of Tusharalinga and returned to his own country from the country of the *Bhottas*. The king destroyed *Rinchana* in the capital; and Kota respectfully received him with her head bent down, even as the eastern hill receives the gloom-dispelling full moon on its head.

Shahamera had brought up the son of *Rinchana*, and owing to his affection for the boy he was an eyesore to the king. But the queen was equally disposed towards both her sons, and the king, through fear of the queen, did not harm *Shahmera* though he was an object of animosity to him. During the dreadful time of the troubles caused by *Achala*, the people, in fear, had taken shelter of *Shahmera*, and *Shahmera* did not deem the king even as grass. He frightened the king day and night by holding up *Heidara* before him, even as one frightens a bird by holding up his hawk.

Strange that this believer in *Alla* became the saviour of the people. As a dried up river allows men to cross it, and gives them shelter on its banks; even so this believer in *Alla*, calm and active, protected the terrified subjects. *Shahmera* had two grandsons of great merit, named *Shirhshataka*⁵³ and *Himda*⁵⁴, and they beautified all sides like the sun and the moon. Proud on account of his connection with the lord of *Dvara*, and prepared even to disobey the orders of the king, *Shahmera* was like the gate of danger to those who served the king. He had bestowed the daughter of *Alleshvara*⁵⁵ on *Lusta* the lord of *Dvara*, and had conquered *Shri Sankarapura*⁵⁶, and thus magnified the fear of the king. His son *Jymsara*⁵⁷ was a man of business, and *Telaka-sura*⁵⁸ married *Jymsara's* daughter and obtained the lordship of *Bhahgila*. *Shahmera*, who was as a lion among men, and who had

achieved many victories and won the goddess of Fortune, kept the turbulent province of Shamala⁵⁹ under control, even as Nrisimha, who could assume many forms, the lord of Lakshmi, controlled the Daityas. Deep as the sea wherein abides the goddess of Victory, and terrific in his power, *Shahmera* taxed the people of Karala. His fame smiled on him, and he thought of the conflagration of *Vijayeshapura*⁶⁰ of king Kalasa. In order to secure his possessions, *Shahmera* fortified the *Chakradhara*⁶¹ hill, and showed to the people that his works were imperishable. *Shahmera* marked out the lord of Kampana⁶², and gave him a large fortune, and obtained a spotless fame, even as one obtains a marriage present. Then *Shahmera* accepted the daughter of the lord of Kota⁶³ whom he welcomed. The lord of Kota was as the first actor on the stage of kings.⁶⁴ The irreligious Lavanyas were brought under his subjection, some by conciliation and others through disunion caused among themselves, some by gifts and others through fear. The Lavanya people bore his daughters like garlands, but they knew not that his daughters were like life destroying serpents of deadly poison. The *Lavanyas* were brought under the control of Rajaviji, and they were all brought under the power of the king, as elephants submit to the power of the lion.

As a tree in a marsh is overcome by lotus-covered water, so was the king overcome by *Shahmera*. And as if overpowered by loss of authority everywhere outside his palace, the king relinquished his life along with his fame. On the *Shivaratri* night, on the thirteenth lunar day, in the year 14, that forbearing king left the world polluted with the touch of *Shahmera*.

Then Kota⁶⁵, out of fear of *Shahmera*, kept the death of the king a secret for four days, suppressing her own feelings. She discarded her eldest son⁶⁶ lest *Shahmera* should rule the kingdom through him, and she discarded the other son also because he was only a boy. Grieved for her sons, bewildered by the infirmity of old age, and

annoyed at being kept shut up, the queen Shri Kota, supported by the Lavanyas, comforted [ruled] the country as if it was her co-widow. All the ministers *Shahmera* and others, remembered the benefits they had previously received, and bowed to her as to the crescent of the moon. As the summer rain allays dust and heat, and nourishes plants, even so she brought back prosperity to the subjects.

The queen feared that *Shahmera* would destroy her prosperity, and with a view to check his rise she bestowed honors on Bhatta Bhikshana. It was through his intelligence that the queen managed to perform her duties, as one crosses by a boat the dreadful ocean which is difficult to traverse. *Shahmera* could not in his heart tolerate the ascendancy of Bhikshana who was helped by *Kota* for the proud can scarcely bear equality even of his shadow. Fire manifests itself by heat and smoke, but no sign of anger manifested itself in that wise man. The wise *Shahmera* pretended illness and caused it to be known that his end was near. Queen *Kota* then sent *Bhatta Bhikshana* with *Avatara* and others to see him. They found people at the door discussing whether perspiration was good for one who suffered from beliousness; and these people prevented the Bhatta's party from entering. *Bhikshana* and *Avatara*, however, went in to *Shahmera*, but their protecting deities did not enter with them, as if on account of the difficulty in getting admission. *Shahmera* at first complained to them in detail of his illness, and when the proper time arrived, he buried their own weapon in their bodies, and thus allayed the illness of his mind. Blood issued from their heads, and water came out of their eyes; their lives left their bodies, and the rancor which *Shahmera* had felt, left his mind. *Shahmera* was bathed in their blood as one bathes after recovery from illness; their two heads were like the two halves of a vessel, and their wounds were like the marks of the lamp. Queen *Kota* was determined to besiege *Shahmera*, and she was capable of doing so; but her evil minded ministers deterred her from doing it, and reminded her that *Shahmera* and *Bhikshana* had brought

up her boys, and that it was fate that had killed the one by making the other an instrument. That in order to assuage the grief which had arisen from the death of a Brahmana, the senseless *Shahmera* would sacrifice the lives of others in the blazing fire of his anger.

As the canal nourishes cultivated fields with water, so did the queen nourish the people by bestowing much wealth on them. She was to the kingdom what the moon is to the blue lotus; and to the enemy she was what that luminary is to the white lotus. On one occasion she marched against the lord of *Kampana*⁶⁷, with the intention to fight, because he had disobeyed her orders. But the lord of *Kampana* captured her in a mountain defile and put her in prison, even as one catches a bird in its nest and puts it in a cage. Her best minister named *Kumarabhatta* pretended to quarrel with her other ministers with a view to release her. He took with him a young student who carried in his hand a water vessel, and who resemble the queen in his appearance except that he was a man. The wise *Kumarabhatta* went over to the lord of *Kampana*, praised his intelligence, and admired his magnanimity and beautiful appearance. "O lord!" he said "by obeying the orders of a female we live with our heads humbled, but you have this day made our manhood triumph. With your permission I, your servant, will go to the prison, and by reproving and consoling her by turns, I will take out her money and give it to my lord. She has accumulated money, being a woman, and being unable to part with it of her own inclination." The lord of *Kampana* was thus deceived and suffered *Kumarabhatta* to go to the prison. The evening, which paints the world so skillfully, now approached, as if to see queen *Kota* come out of her prison. Accompanied by the boy who carried water for his evening prayer, *Kumarabhatta* entered the prison, and the grief of the queen left it. He left the boy dressed in the queen's garments, and made *Kota* to follow him wearing the dress of the boy, and thus issued from the prison.

Shahmera, who had thus risen by art, was not devoid of circumspection; the wise, when they are in enmity with the powerful, never remain indifferent. Kota was neither favourable to, nor angry with the powerful *Shahmera*. Enmity attended with want of circumspection is the first germ of destruction. Once on a time when the queen had gone to Jayapidapura⁶⁸ on some business, the powerful *Shahmera* possessed himself of the capital. And when the Lavanya people were subdued by the strong *Shahmera*, the queen closed the gate of Kotta, in the hope of thwarting her enemy. The strong and the wise *Shahmera*, a lion among men, closed the front of the cavern-like fort, and Kota like a she-jackal was struck with fear. The fascinating *Shahmera* sent word to the queen through his messengers, stating that she might sit with him on the throne, and on his breast, with the goddess of Royalty, and that she might live in his heart with the virtue of forbearance. The queen was won by his assiduity, and he took possession of the Kotta country and of queen Kota. He spent one night with her in the same bed, and when he rose in the morning, he caused her to be captured⁶⁹ by the Tikshnas⁷⁰. Then on the tenth bright lunar day, in the month of *Shrivana*, in the year 15, the queen dropped from her kingdom like a star from the sky, *Shahmera* who was as the kalpa tree to his kinsmen and relatives, and wise in his actions, and chief among the warriors, imprisoned the two sons of the queen. The results of our acts manifest themselves in every direction, and generate wisdom or ignorance. The influence of karma is surging with the influences of time and of local circumstances and leads to results. I bow to the god of karma, be it Soul or Shiva or Hari or Brahma or Buddha or Jina.

Shahmera then overawed the *Lavanya* people, spread his fame on all sides. He took the country into his hand, placed the goddess of Fortune on his breast, and put Kota in prison. The king then assuaged the troubles of Kashmira and changed its condition, and called himself Shri *Shamsadena*⁷¹. The scar of the bow string on his mighty

arm was like the smoke, issuing from the flame of his power, which could have burnt all sides like a forest. The king removed the suspicions of his ministers, but the ministers could not remove his circumspections; as the diamond pierces jewels, but the jewels pierce not the diamond. The king who had won fame worthy of praise, caused the *Rajputs*⁷² who were at *Kashthavata*⁷³ to flee through fear. His fame increased, and he wisely placed on his two sons, who were not inferior to him, the burden of the kingdom. He reigned for five years, and three days, and died on the full moon day of Ashadha, in the year 18.

Jamshid (1342-1343)

Then *Jamsara*⁷⁴ protected the country at Satisara, undiminished in prosperity and obeyed by the principal feudatory princes. Like the two pillars that support a gate, the strength and the intellect of the king's younger brother supported the kingdom, and he became object of apprehension. He was not inferior to the king in making gifts or in receiving presents, in awarding punishments or favours on the people, in undertaking pleasure trips or in the luxuries of the table. The king ceased to trust him as he had trusted before, and the mind of the young prince was inflamed by the people around him. When the Rajputs heard that the king's mind was alienated from his brother, they instantly communicated the fact to the young prince. And when hostility was inevitable, the rash young prince left the protection of the Rajputs and went excited to their chief town Avantinagara. The king accompanied by his soldiers efficient in war, took shelter in Utpalapura and sent the following message to his brother: "If you have not under estimated my affection by the instigation of wicked men, why do you not tremble in fear of the censure of the people? The wishes of the king who has gone to heaven [our father] to protect each other should be obeyed. Think of this and turn your affection again towards me." After the king had sent a messenger with this intimation to his brother, he sent his son to kill the lord of Kampana. The

king's messenger was detained on the pretence that the young prince had gone to hunt, while the prince, whose treason had by this time become known went to kill his brother's son. Lakshmabhatta became anxious as the messenger did not return for a long time. He went to the king and said that, since the messenger was delaying he feared that the king's brother was bent on rebellion, and had gone to kill the king's son. He also said that, in order to frustrate the king's design, the messenger was no doubt detained on some pretence or other, such as that the young prince was bathing or eating or sleeping. He proposed that as soon as the king's brother repaired to *Shri Devasarasa*⁷⁵, they should destroy *Avantipura*⁷⁶ which would then be left without any protector; the king's victory would then be complete. The powerful king agreed to the proposal. He went to *Avantipura* with his efficient soldiers, and besieged the town; so that the river Vitasta, the current of which was blocked up by dead bodies, flowed backward, as if to inform Alleshvara of the slaughter of his men. Meanwhile Alleshvara defeated his brother's son and returned. Jamsara, who was resting from the toils of battle, fled. The wise Alleshvara came to an agreement with the king that hostilities should cease between the brothers for two months. Allesha left his soldiers and *Avantipura* behind, and went to *Ikshika* by the *Kshiri* road. Jamsara, beaming in splendour, left the protection of the capital in the hands of his own minister *Sayyaraja*, and went to *Kramarajya*. But the young prince alienated *Sayyaraja*⁷⁷ from the king by promises of gifts and honors, and got possession of the city by artifice. The king, now king only in name, died after having suffered troubles for one year and ten months in the kingdom of *Kashmira*. Then *Alvadena* [Allesha?]⁷⁸ knowing that the time was unsuited for further disputes, immediately bestowed the lordship of *Dvara* on his [third] brother, in order to smooth all difficulties. Jamsara had caused a bridge to be built to cross the river at *Suyapura*⁷⁹, but did not devise means to cross over his dangers. He had excavated a tank and raised buildings by

its side, close to the mountains, as resting places for travellers. For this beautiful act of improving his own country, Shri Shivasamika had obtained from him the lordship of *Dvara*.

Once upon a time the prince was wandering for amusement in the forest of *Vakpushta* when he saw a circle of the Yoginis⁸⁰ in the cavern of a mountain. His friends *Udayashri* and *Chandradamara* also saw them; for what is not visible to those who follow great men? Small things like bells tremble and make a noise, but great things like the minds of valiant heroes remain unmoved. They wished that the Yoginis might not disappear, as they were anxious to see them and to speak to them. The heroes then alighted from their horses and were not afraid of the Yoginis. Shining in their formidable strength, these valiant men proceeded slowly and silently, and approached the Yoginis. The leader of the Yoginis recognized the prince from a distance and sent him a cup of liquor with incantation and blessing. The king drank his fill; *Chandra* partook of what remained, and though pleased with it, he left a portion for the sake of *Udayashri*. *Udayashri* was much gratified with the drink, and owing to some fatality, forgot the groom of the horses and left nothing. They were pleased with the strange sights they saw. The Yogini, who understood omens, thus said to the prince with clasped hands: "your kingdom will remain entire, and *Chandra* will enjoy a part of your wealth, and *Udayashri*, as long he lives, will be blessed with undying prosperity; but the groom bereft of our favour will be soon left bereft of life." Thus she foretold the future, and vanished with the other Yoginis, and then the life of the keeper of horses departed.

It is owing to the merit of the subjects that such kings are born, who raise the prosperity of the kingdom, and deliver the people sunk in the gloom of injustice. The king abolished the evil custom under which a childless widow, though unchaste obtained a share of her husband's property from her father-in-law. The great and wise king

made Jayapidapura his capital, and built at *Sri Rinchhanapura*, an edifice near *Budhagira*⁸¹. In the year 19, a famine of unprecedented severity, the effect of the sins of men, harassed the suffering people. Having ruled the kingdom for twelve years, eight months, and thirteen days, the king died in the month of Chaitra, in the year 30.

Shihab-ud-Din (1354-1373)

The halting description of the reigns of bad kings now gives place to an account of the very powerful *Shahavadina*⁸². When he became king, the country ceased to remember the prosperity and dangers, the pleasures and afflictions of the time of Lalitaditya. As the sky, after the departure of the different seasons, obtains the bright sun in summer, so the earth passed under the rule of many kings, and obtained this sovereign at last. The king did not repair to the city of the sinful *Jayapida*. Adorned with pearls and necklace, this king was the most prominent among all kings, past and future, as the central jewel is prominent in a necklace. Though he obtained victory at every step yet the fire of his valor was not satiated, even as the ocean receives rivers from all directions, and is not satiated. He counted as lost those brief periods of time in which he obtained no victory. The march with his army was as dear to him as a young wife is to an old man. Deer-eyed women attracted not his mind, nor the pleasures of drinking, nor the light of moon. Only the march with his army occupied the king's attention. Neither heat nor cold, nor evening nor night, neither hunger nor thirst obstructed his march. When this proud king was on his march, he found no difficulty in crossing unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains and barren deserts. In his conquering expeditions, the king first went to the north which had never been conquered by previous kings, and which was peopled by the *Parasikas*⁸³. He took *Chandra*, *Laulaka*, and *Shura*⁸⁴ with him for help, even as the world conquering Kama takes the spring, wine, and woman as his auxiliaries. This destroyer of the proud filled his soldiers with strength, his enemies with grief, and

all sides with dust. *Udabhandapura*⁸⁵, ruled by *Govindakhana*, was first entered by his arrows and then by his soldiers. When the army of the king reached the top of the mountain, his opponents, descended from the high peak in fear. The ruler of *Sindhu* unable to make presents befitting the king, presented his own daughter to him. The weight of the country of the *Gondharas* was added to the king's glory, but strange! that the weight of fear lowered the hearts of those people. The powerful king destroyed the pride of the country of the *Shingas*⁸⁶ but did not destroy their swords. On hearing the lion-roar raised by the army of the lion like king, *Gajinipuri*⁸⁷ fell bereft of pride, and struck with fear. At *Ashtanagara*⁸⁸ the veda-readers and the *Kshatriyas* wept through fear, as if the smoke from the fire of their youth and valor, which was extinguished, affected their eyes. When the king had robbed the wealth and the fame of *Purushavira*⁸⁹, the name of that country lost its meaning. The women in the villages assigned to the *Brahmanas* shed tears, as if they offered water to the dead and food to the living. When the leaders of the cavalry had gone away on the pretext of repairing to the banks of the *Ghoshadhatu* river, the king administered a severe chastisement to *Udakpati*⁹⁰.

Returning thence, he marched southward, and assuaged the toil of the journey in the waters of the *Shatadru*⁹¹. He harassed *Udakpati* who had arrived after plundering *Dhilli* and blocked his way. He then bestowed horses and clothes on petty kings and sent them to their countries, and they looked as if they were the embodiment of the king's fame. The king of *Susharmmapura*⁹² apprehended danger from the king of *Kashmira*, and he forsook the pride of his fort and sought the protection of the queen. It was owing to the humility, not to the pride of the *Bhauttas*⁹³, that the king's horses, eager to ascend the mountains, were checked. The king arrived at the banks of the *Sindhu* which he found difficult to cross, but the gods smoothed the waves of the river. This strange fact has been heard from elderly men. Thus in his unceasing endeavour to conquer other

countries, his own became to him as a foreign land, and foreign countries became his own. Thus having filled all sides with his valor, he entered Kashmira and instituted festivities to delight the eyes of the citizens.

In the course of our narration, we are describing the superhuman abilities of this king, and shall perhaps be considered by future generations to be flatterers. Once, when the king was marching to a distant country, he heard of a woman beautiful like an Apsara, with eyes like those of the deer, and became eager to enjoy her. He deceived his followers by some device, and alone entered the country where she lived, and like a second *Kandarpa* fascinated her by his wit. He drank the nectar from her lips and quenched the desire of his heart. When his soldiers missed him, they feared that he was killed by some enemy, and lost their reason in their anger. They searched for him, and when they saw his horse tethered in the courtyard of a house, they thought that he had been overcome by his enemies. Without any armour, the soldiers blockaded the house with a view to fight with *Shauryyasvami* and *Anuga*. But on hearing a voice like the roar of a lion from within the house, their hearts that knew no fear were softened with gladness, their faces were subdued with awe, and their heads were bent with good sense. The king caused many columns of victory to be raised, proclaiming his great deeds, in places where his enemies had been destroyed like sacrificial beasts in the flame of his prowess. In the management of the affairs of his own country he depended on his two ministers *Kotabhata* and *Udayashri*, and in battle he depended on *Chandradamara* and *Laula*. *Kotasharmma*⁹⁴ was like the moon in the sea like dynasty of *Devasharmma*. Indifferent to worldly concerns, he left the wealth repeatedly bestowed on him by the king, and retired to a forest.

Surely it was to display the prowess of the king that on a certain occasion a calamity befell, troubling his subjects grievously. In the year 36, a cruel inundation distressed the

subjects. What the sun is to the kumuda flower, or a hero to his enemies, so was the inundation to the city and the trees. The city was under water, but the mighty inundation still increased and reached the hills which shed tears in the shape of waterfalls. There was not a tree, not a boundary mark, not a bridge, not a house, that stood in the way of the inundation, which it did not destroy. The king, who never took shelter in a hill fort in fear of an enemy, now frequently resorted to such forts through fear of the inundation. It subsided within a few days, as if dried up by the prowess of the king; but the king wished to build a town on a hill in fear of another inundation. He consulted his queen named Lakshmi and built a celebrated town which equalled his own greatness; and the people saw before them, at the base of the Himalaya, the town of Sharika, inhabited by virtuous men even like Alaka, at the base of the Sumeru. At the junction of the Vitasta and the Sindhu, he built a town after his own name, and the town was reflected in the waters, as if it had hid itself the river through modesty. Loladamara, on whom fortune shone steadily, built a town after his own name, and the high edifices were like glory amassed. The ever restless world soared upwards as if to reach the heavens, and thus deprived it of the rays of the sun.

Lasa⁹⁵ was the daughter of queen *Lakshmi*'s sister and was brought up by the queen. Her image was now reflected on the mirror of the king's heart. He was for a long time held by ties of respect to *Lakshmi*, but those ties were snapped by the passion inflamed by the beauty of Lasa. The goddess of Fortune had, with the image of Krishna, taken her seat in the bosom of the king, and the fortunate Lasa was now allowed a place by her side. The shadow is not cast in the direction of the sun, for the sun enjoys the glory of the day, and the shadow brings darkness and destroys the beauty of the sun. It has been well said that women have four times the intellect of men, and none can frame crooked and penetrating devices better than they. The chaste Lakshmi, though she was the daughter of a

common *Bhalla* named Avatara, became displeased with the king who had become attached to Lasa and she went in anger to the king of *Sindhu* who was her countryman. But the king of Kashmira, out of shame, though not out of deep affection, brought her back. The she-elephant of the wilderness, when her agony caused by heat is relieved by the water of a lotus-tank, nevertheless troubles the water, and rudely shakes the mosses and the lotuses in the tank. Even so Lasa, the beloved of the king, behaved ungratefully towards Lakshmi, the sister of her mother, and who had nourished her like a mother; as the full moon which is nourished by the bright fortnight terminates and destroys that fortnight. The kumuda flower is destined to bloom by night; otherwise the night, like a wicked woman could have destroyed it by the help of the moon which destroys the wakefulness of the world.

Once upon a time Lasa, in the enjoyment of her prosperity, thus spoke to the king with the wile of a serpent: and the king listened with anxiety, and his breath dulled the splendour of his lips. "If the sun had not by its rays expanded the lotus, who would have cared to destroy it through jealousy? Who cares to destroy the moss? Unable to bear the favours bestowed on me, your queen is devising for my destruction. The queen watches me through her spies, and out of her enmity, has directed Udayashri, who has become her favourite by his services, to employ magic against me." But the wise king replied to her that Udayashri was inimical to the gods, and could not therefore perform magic. Lasa repeated the charge; and in order to convince her of her mistake, the king thus addressed *Udayashri*:

O! *Udayashri*!⁹⁶ The treasury has become empty by excessive expenditure, but the people ask the king for every thing, as if he was the kalpa tree. There is one way which is apparent to me, for making money. By cutting up the huge brass image of Shrijayeshvari and turning it into coin marked with my name, we may meet the required expenses, and deeds of deathless

fame may be done.

The mean minded minister thus replied to the king:

The idea is a good one, but the image is light, how much can we obtain from it? Rather let the image of the great Buddha be coined into money.

On another day, after the necessary preparations had been made, and *Lasa* had been convinced that Udayashri was not a believer in the gods, the king thus said privately to that minister:

Past generations have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them! Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some, by duly maintaining them; and some, by demolishing them! How great is the enormity of such a deed *Sagara* became famous by creating the sea and the rivers, and grieving for *Sagara's* sons, *Bhagiratha* obtained fame by bringing down the Ganges. Jealous of *Indra's* fame, *Duslimanta* acquired renown by conquering the world; and *Rama*, by killing *Ravana* when the latter had purloined *Siti*. King *Shahavadina*, it will be said, plundered the image of a god; and this fact, dreadful as *Yama*, will make the men in future tremble.

When the king had spoken thus, Udayashri held down his head as if seeking for a hole in the ground, wishing to go down into the interior of the earth.

When the sun rises in the sky he causes harm to his sons, the Saturn and other planets. So when *Lasa* reported against the sons of the king, the king, at her instigation and out of his affection for her, exiled the princes from their own country, as if they were his enemies. They went to the assistance of the lord of *Yoginipura*, and displayed their prowess by superhuman acts.

As advised, the king killed the rebellious *Hindukas*, and the rebellious *Shekandhara* and other *mlechchhas*, to whom he had assigned salaries out of his generosity. Alarmed by wicked men, the hero *Madanalavika* prepared

to rise against the king, but was prevented by his soldiers. Accustomed to hunting, the king made a quick march with his soldiers, and removed the beautiful bridge of boats over the Sindhu which was like a moat.

The heroic king, with the steady courage of a lion, wandered at *Khadganagari* in pursuit of game, and he ran after a lion. Riding a horse, the king ran past the den, followed only by Madana who was much devoted to him. The lion, with its mane erect, threw down the brave and lion like king, who was alone, and who struggled for a long time. The hero Madanalavika soon alighted from his horse, and killed the lion with his sword. The grateful king whose life was thus saved, rewarded him with wealth; but apprehending the death of *Madanalavika* at the hands of wicked men, he wisely sent him forthwith to the king of Dilli on pretence of marriage. Once upon a time a man named *Sharkarasuha* saw in a dream a great city of gold which shone like champaka flowers blown in the sky. He dreamt that he entered into house after house, but he found them all empty. In a palace however he found a woman of radiant beauty. He asked her why she was living alone but fearless in that great city, like the crescent of the moon in the sky; and he enquired whose city it was, why it was tenantless, and whose body was lying before her. She replied, that, like a beauteous woman whose husband was dead, or like the night without moon, that city belonged to the king of the Gandharbas; and the king, in order to govern the country of Kashmira, had left his body there, and with all his ministers had descended on earth. He was known in the three worlds by the name of Shahavadina, and that she alone was staying there to keep watch over the body. She said, that, after completing his work on earth, the king would return within three months to protect his own city. When *Sharkarasuha* awoke, he was sunk in excessive wonder and grief and meditation, and he narrated his dream to the king. The king thought to himself that there was no cause for fear if the dream turned out to be false, and if it proved true, he would

attain superhuman power; and so the king was not troubled with grief. The king then sent letters to his sons, who were at a distance, to come to him, but they did not come. This wise sovereign then placed the Hindukas in their own posts, and on the fourteenth lunar day of the bright moon of the month of Jaishtha, in the year 49, he cheered celestial beauties by his embraces.

Qutb-u-Din (1373-1389)

*King Kumbhadina*⁹⁷ succeeded; his orders were placed on the heads of kings, his bounty delighted their hearts, and his praise was on their lips. He captivated the hearts of all, even like the sun when he is in the equinox, and is neither too powerful nor too weak.

Those whom the late king had sent to reconnoitre Lohara had run away in fear of the lord of that country. All the luminous plants become dull when the moon sets, and the sun-jewel loses its brilliancy at the setting of the sun. With a view to attack Lohara, king *Kumbhadina* sent the powerful *Damara Lolaka*⁹⁸ from the city, and Lolaka surrounded the hill of Lohara on all sides. The lives of the great men who devote themselves to their master's work are like grass. The lord of the fort, unable to defend it, sent *Brahmana* messengers to the Damara chief, in order to deliver it up. But the *Damara*, who had kept his temper even in the heat of battle, believed the messengers to be spies in the garb of Brahmanas, and he chastised them. Brahmanas were as gods to the lord of Lohara, and when he heard that punishment had been inflicted on Brahmanas, he took courage, held out the fort, and did not despair of his life. And when he and his people found that death awaited them whether they fought or fled, they resolved on battle which is the avocation of *Kshatriyas*. Terrible in battle, they discharged their arrows and stones, and as they descended from the hill of Lohara, their fame ascended to the skies. Lola the Damara⁹⁹ chief was struck by stones and perished with his deeds, for who can escape the decrees of fate? The stones discharged by the enemy

covered the *Damara Lolaka*, so that he was not deprived of burial, the last rite of the *Yavanas*.

King *Shahavadina* had exiled his own sons, but just before his death, he had invited them to return by letters written with his own hand. The eldest and the most meritorious among them, the prince named *Hassana*, came to *Mahendramandala*, and met with no opposition. Here he heard of the death of his father, and shed floods of tears, even as the pearl oyster sheds pearls, and as if he thereby offered water to the dead.

The following letter of his father's brother, the king *Kumbhadan* of *Kashmira*, made this pure minded prince continue his march, and prevented him from retracing his steps:

King *Shahavadina* has left us, his servants, out of his friendship for *Indra*, and has departed to heaven. He has left us to seek the company of the celestial *Apsaras*, and we have performed the funeral rites which you should have done; and we have held the kingdom on our head according to the orders of the departed king, the wisest of men, in-order to protect these realms strung together, like a garland, by his policy. By going to exile under the orders of your father, and now returning by his desire, you have filled your country with fame, like *Rama*. By your own merit you have obtained honor, and will earn yet more. Accept the post of the heir-apparent, and lighten the weight that is on me. Your fortitude, the company of courtiers and friends, and the duty of protecting the people will soon assuage your grief. As the dead derive no pleasure from fame, even so great men who live in foreign lands derive no pleasure from wealth. You are the image of him who has gone to heaven; show yourself to us, and relieve us of the sorrow we feel for him. Let the people of a foreign country no more point you out with their finger, as they do an ordinary person, and say this is the son of *Shahavadina*. Do not look up for favour to princes who are dependant on me and who receive my favours; do not slight the wealth of *Kashmira*.

As the serpent, which supports the world, places its weight on the Meru mountain, even so shall I place the weight of the kingdom on you and enjoy repose and wealth. So long as I rule the subjects, you will live in the same dignity which king *Shahavadina* bestowed on me. Do not therefore decline our request and thereby disappoint [your mother] *Lakshmi* who acts according to the advice of *Udayashri* and other ministers."

The prince did not know that kings are guided by other men as elephants are guided by their ears. He read the letter and descended along the road to Kashmira. He was, as it were, forbidden to enter that country by the clouds which gathered before him, and thundered. He shed a lustre on the road to Kashmira as he entered it, but the instigations of the wicked poisoned the ears of the king. Wicked ministers are to the world what the fire is to the forest. Some of them in their ambition to rise, agitate the mind of the king, as crocodiles agitate the sea. Some, in their pride, shake the king as the wind shakes the tops of plants. When prince *Hassana* had entered Kashmira, the wicked thus said to king *Kumbhadina*:

The wisdom of the king is superior to that of others, the ministers may, nevertheless, be permitted to speak to enable him to decide what is beneficial and what is harmful. Even sovereigns, who comprised in them a portion of Indra and of the rulers of the four directions of the sky and the four corners of the universe, were injured by the members of their own family. A brother is like a black serpent which is known to live on air and whose course is tortuous; such a brother's touch is destruction. Who can then be safe from danger? The prince will not be satisfied with wealth or submit to you ; the fire does not become cool by coming in contact with cold objects. Do not think that he being alone can do no harm to thee who art a king. What is the king of elephants with his herd in the presence of a lion? But it would not be wise by our advice to destroy his power, for

the sensible Udayashri, out of regard for his late master, guards the prince. O! Chief of kings! Hassana is not a fit object of your favour, nor is he to be cast off; he will become proud if you favour him, and will cause you harm if you cast him off; as a man of spirit he will never forgive a wrong. Does not the submarine fire always heat the sea? Imprison him therefore and remove the anxiety of the people, those who are anxious for the king and also those who are not." As water becomes unsuitable for drink if it flows into a lake from a dirty pool, even so the king became estranged from *Hassana* by the words of the wicked.

The king noticed the strange and haughty conduct of the prince, he marked it, he heard of it, and he felt it, but as the prince was his brother's son, the king did not imprison him out of affection. *Udayashri* noticed that the king was vexed with the prince, and thus said to the prince's nurse, the widow of *Loladamara*¹⁰⁰. "Damara *Lolaka* died, out of his affection for his late master, and he did not tarnish his honor by serving a new and wicked master. There is no hope of obtaining wealth from the present evil minded king, and the life of *Hassana* who was brought up by you is in danger. Ask the king therefore to accept the wealth which you possess, so that this avaricious man may come to your house. When he is once in your house we will kill him or seize him by force, and then the prince will prosper." It so happened that this plan was revealed to the king; *Udayashri* became alarmed, and caused *Hassana* to flee. Men like him are precious like the philosopher's stone, and are worthy of praise in this world, for he remained fixed in his resolution, and he caused another to flee. He was engaged in an undertaking than which nothing could be more desperate ; and he was detected in it, but the forgiving king did not behead him. *Udayashri's*¹⁰¹ faults were concealed in his worth, and he passed his days, pure in appearance, like a lotus in the mud. Though the moon-jewel be at a distance from the moon, and concealed in water, does it not even then emit

moisture when embraced by the rays of the moon? Thus thought *Udayashri* to himself, and he felt a desire to go to the prince; but the king, who had heard of his treason, placed him in prison; and, as if instigated by the gods who seemed to know his purpose and that of his instructor, slew him in anger. The elephant which crushes the lotus, the wind that breaks the sandal tree, and the king who destroys good men deserve censure in the three worlds. This world is like a garden, and men are the flowers, and it is in their words that praise which is like perfume, is sought. As the blind man, who has lost his hands and feet, becomes excessively timid, even so prince *Hassana* became timid at the death of *Udayashri*. The evil minded *Khasha* chiefs were glad at the reward bestowed on them by their master, and even attempted to kill prince *Hassana*.

When the enemies were confounded and dispirited, and they melted away, the wisdom of the king became like a light to the people. Then on the banks of the *Vitasta* he built a town marked with his name, and the lofty golden umbrella placed upon it seemed, by its beauty, to mock the skies. The king saw that the people died of famine every year and he performed a *Yajna* in the month of *Bhadra*, and distributed large gifts.

In the old age of this king, the hair about his ears became white, as if by listening to the nectar like words of good men. But the king was not yet blessed with a boy who would have been an ornament to the family, a rock of support to the world, and a destroyer of the enemy's prosperity. At last there came a yogi named *Brahmanatha* from *Kashmira*, and through his favour, the king obtained a son after a time. The queen gave birth to a son who was the ornament of the family and the delight of his father, who was like a feast after a fast, a subverter of darkness, and a destroyer of the eyes of enemies. The king of the world saw the child who was like the abode of love, and he named it *Shringara*. In the festivities which were held on the occasion, the king, out of the gladness of his heart,

ordered the imprisoned to be released, and it is strange that the boats in the bridge of boats were still kept chained. The queen gave birth to another boy, named *Haivata*¹⁰², whose beauty rebuked the moon. It was a spot in the character of the king, as there is a spot in the moon, that he took unto him as his wife the dame world, although she was of his family. On the second day of the dark moon, in the month of Bhadra, in the year 65, king *Kumbhadina*, the chief among kings, died. The queen was sunk in sorrow, and the two princes were infants, the subjects were therefore without a master and were struck with fear. The profuse tears of the queen were like the rains in the rainy season, and the ministers were like fish therein.

Sikandar (1389-1413)

Uddaka and *Sahaka*¹⁰³ consoled the heroic queen. They said, that it was useless to indulge in grief, that one must have patience under such a misfortune, and that the evil minded people were rising in the kingdom which was without a strong ruler and without a king. They then crowned the elder *Shekandhira* as king of this great kingdom. By the order of the new king, *Uddaka* treacherously burnt *Mahammada*, son of *Saha*, and his own daughter and son-in-law to death. The huge whale unwittingly devours its spawn, and the bee which is destined to perish when its hive will be robbed of honey, destroys its own mother. What wicked deed will not foolish men do under temptations, their senses perplexed, and knowing that at the end they will be consumed by fire? The prosperity of the great queen *Shashobha* was worthy of admiration. She beautified the word with the make of her own virtue.

Uddaka apprehended that as he had destroyed the king's friend, he would be killed, and he removed the king's brother by poison. He had sworn to *Sahaka* that he would by his own sword cut his own throat before rising against *Sahaka*. By such assurance, he obtained the confidence of *Sahaka* and killed him. To the evil minded, whose

destruction is near, their evil deed becomes the harbinger of their death. The king was apprehensive that he would be killed like his brother, but he had now grown up, and he made his party strong. But the proud Udda, who had returned after conquering the Bhauttal, was unable to brook the advancement of others, and he killed Khunjyaraja, brother of Shri *Shobha*. *Udhaka* then ordered *Mammaka*, a dependant of his, to create a disturbance at Dvara,¹⁰⁴ and discarding the king's affection for him, he went in pride to Helara. He heard that Laddaraja and others were following the king, bow in hand, and were prepared for battle in some deserted place. They whose destruction is nigh think themselves to be sensible men, and generally mistake their own shadow for ghosts. The soldiers of *Udda* had come prepared for fight, but when they saw some she-buffaloes on the other side of the Vitasta, they mistook them for horses, and fled. The king pursued them, and at night captured *Uddaka* at *Vitastapura*, but was afraid of a disturbance in the city and returned. Though *Uddaka* deserved to be killed, the king cast him into prison out of pity. But *Uddaka*¹⁰⁵ was stained with the sin of treachery against those who had confided in him, he feared death from the king who was mild on account of his kindness, and he cut his throat by his own sword. As the king of birds kills serpents, and the lion kills jackal? so the king of the world killed the guards placed on him. Kingdom and the safety of his body and mind and his personal freedom were preserved to the king even like the fruits of penance performed in the midst of five fires.

The king dispelled the gathering gloom of the pride of other kings, and commenced his march which alas! Terrified Indra. His great prowess coloured the world red, but made colourless the nails of the sorrowing wives of hostile kings. At this time the king of the *mlechchhas* had plundered *Dili*¹⁰⁶ and made it like a widow deprived of ornaments and without a protector. When the king of the *mlechchhas* returned, he was afraid of the king of Kashmira, and gave him two large elephants as presents.

The elephants exuded moisture as they passed and the line marked by the moisture was the boundary of the kingdom of Kashmira which the king of the mlechchhas himself seemed to demarcate. The two big elephants looked like peaks of the Himalaya, and Agastya became angry, apprehending that the Vindhya mountain was rising in dimension. When they crossed the Vitasta, they saw their own reflection in the water, and became angry, mistaking the shadows for rival elephants. They were proud of their rounded foreheads which mocked the beauty of the bosoms of the king's wives. They were stabled in the elephant stable which was like a prison to them.

The bountiful king not only satisfied those who asked, with gift of gold, but even distributed it of his own accord. When he made gifts, his hands hung down and were contracted, for he felt abashed at the praises of those who asked, and obtained what they asked. Who can describe his gifts? He dipped his hand in water before making a gift, and his hand looked like a lotus under the water. The lines on his thumb were like barley grains, but they did not sprout by being constantly drenched in water; because, I imagine, of their constant contact with the handle of the sword.

It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king had a fondness for the *Yavanas*¹⁰⁷, even as a boy has a fondness for mud. Many *Yavanas* left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king who was renowned for charity, even as bees leave the flowers and settle on elephants. As the bright moon is among the stars, so was *Mahammada* of *Mera*¹⁰⁸ country among these *Yavanas*;¹⁰⁹ and although he was a boy, he became their chief by learning. The king waited on him daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed *Mahammada* before him, and was attentive to him like a slave. As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shalli crop, so did the *Yavanas* destroy the usages of Kashmira. Attracted by the gifts and honors which the king

bestowed, and by his kindness, the mlechchhas entered Kashmira, even as locusts enter a good field of corn.

On a certain occasion the king subdued the king of *Udabhandapura*, and being pleased with his daughter Shri Mera, obtained her as the goddess of victory incarnate. She was surely a goddess, born in the family of Shahi, and her son was destined, on a future day, to consolidate Kashmira destroyed by the mlechchhas. That boy named Shri Jainollabhadina was like virtue incarnate in the Kali Yuga and like the king of hermits, he became the king's favourite.

A certain wily alchemist named *Mahadeva* gave some drug to the king and spoke to him of alchemy, and said that the golden was indebted to the king for having constantly borne the weight of the world, and had through *Mahadeva*, bestowed much gold on him. But his alchemy did not remove *Mahadeva's* poverty. He deluded the sight by deception, and exhibited gold in the crucible, and the delusion lasted for a long time. But the king by his strong sense detected the trick, and told *Mahadeva* of it. Alarmed at this discovery, *Mahadeva* committed suicide.

Laddaraja the physician *Shahkara*, and *Bhatta Suha* were the councillors of the king and were intimate with him. Three sons were born to queen Mera, beautiful as Cupid, and like Virtue, Wealth, and Desire personified; and they were adorned with the names of *Merakhana*, *Shahikhana*, and *Mahmadakhana*, as the three worlds are beautified by the waves of the Ganges. The sons of queen Shobha were adopted children, and were therefore banished. One of them, *Piruja*, was, however, not banished from the city by the king. On the side of *Pradyumna* hill, the king built a town, even like the town of Alaka reflected on the Minasa lake, and inhabited by virtuous people. The *Yavanas*, who had accumulated wealth, were indifferent as to the king's treasure, whether it was large or small. The kingdom of Kashmira was polluted by the evil practices of the mlechchhas, and the Biahmanas, the mantras, and the

gods relinquished their power. The gods who used to make the glory of their prowess manifest, even as fire-flies manifest their light, now hid their glory on account of the country's sin. When the gods withdrew their glory, their images became mere stones, and the mantras, mere letters. Owing to the sin of the Kali Yuga, the merits of those who did virtuous acts were lost, and the gods deserted the images, even as serpents cast off their skins. As a crystal becomes red or white or black by the reflection of the object that is near it, even so, the king became changed. *Suhabhatta* who disregarded the acts enjoined by the Vedas, and was instructed by the mlechchhas, instigated the king to break down the images of gods. The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took a delight, day and night, in breaking images. Of the tree of misgovernment *Harshadeva*¹¹⁰ the *Turushka* was the seedling, sinfulness was the root and the terrible devastations caused by the Lavanyas were the leaves. Its flower was Dalacha the king of the mlechchhas; and its fruits were the daily troubles of the king who broke images at the instigations of the mlechchhas. He broke the images of *Marttanda*, *Vishaya*, *Ishana*, *Chakrabhrit*, and *Tripureshvar*;¹¹¹ but what can be said of the evil that came on him by the breaking of the *Shesha*? When *Sureshvara*, *Varaha*, and others were broken, the world trembled, as if through fear, but not so the mind of the wicked king. There was no city, no town, no village, no wood, where Suha the *Turushka* left the temples of gods unbroken. Of the images which once had existed, the name alone was left, and *Suhabhatta*¹¹² then felt the satisfaction which one feels on recovering from illness. *Suhabhatta* with the leaders of the army tried to destroy the caste of the people; it was like a boy eating the unwholesome food. The Brahmanas declared that they would die if they lost their caste, and *Suhabhatta* subjected them to a heavy fine because they held to their caste. At the time when his dependents who belonged to the Brahmana and other castes forsook their caste, ambitious to obtain the favour of the king, *Shri*

Simha and *Bhattakasthuta*,¹¹³ two merchants, became worthy of praise, and *Shri Nirmmalacharya*¹¹⁴ deserved praise in the three worlds. *Nirmmalacharya* gave up all his property, as if it was worthless as grass, but did not by accepting the king's favour pollute his own caste. It is an established rule, that the master is responsible for the fault of his servant, and therefore for the fault of *Suhabhatta* death became angry with the king. Having coronated his eldest son, king *Shekandhara* died on the eighth lunar day of *Jaishtha*, in the year 89.

Alishaha (1413-1420)

Alishaha, then, like the moon, when his sun-like father was set, dispelled the world's darkness which came at nightfall. He was a boy and unlit for the joys of love, but the goddess of fortune, born in the family, bent herself down and embraced him again and again. The other kings bowed to this boy as they had done to the late king. He who is bitten by a serpent does not venture to assail a rope. *Suhabhatta* had devoted all his energies to doing mischief to the gods, and he therefore became chief among the king's ministers. *Ladda* the *Margapati*¹¹⁵ had, suspecting nothing, left aside his arms but he was siezed with all his sons except *Mahammada*. When the powerful *Mahammada*, who know well about the roads of the country, heard about the capture of *Ladda*, he fled by the hill road of *Bhahgila*. *Shahkara*, the physician, was besieged, but he remained fearless, and the intellect of the armed men though sharp was fruitless against him, and did not afflict him. The lion which proudly overlooks danger may set his foot in a trap, but it is strange that the bird which can see from a distance should also be entrapped.

When *Mahammada* heard of these events, he was anxious, and wished that he could come to *Kashmira* in a day, and day and night he felt ill at ease as a poor man feels for his daughter. In order to give himself a little rest, *Mahammada* entered the house of *Govinda*, whom he

trusted, in the country of *Durddanda*.¹¹⁶ The cloud which is born of smoke quenches the fire, the fire which is born of the friction of trees destroys the forest, the poison tree dries up the land on which it grows, and thus the people, overpowered with covetousness, behave with enmity even towards those who do them good. When *Mahammada* the Margapati, arrived at the house of Govinda the Khasha suspecting nothing, the latter thus communed within himself for a time: The minister *Suhabhatta*, with a view to prevent a tumult in the kingdom, had opposed the evil minded *Mahammada* who was getting up a faction in the country, and this sinful and powerless man who was trying to create a disturbance in the kingdom had that day, out of fear, entered his place; it did not appear therefore to the Khasha that *Mahammada* deserved protection, in the meantime, the shrewed men who had been sent by *Suhabhatta* in search for *Mahammada* came to the house of Govinda the chief of the Khashas; and that wicked minded man violated the ties of friendship, and the duty of protection to one who seeks shelter, and betrayed his friend *Mahammada*. As a hunter bind a sleeping lion, so did the Khasha bind him, as if he had been an animal, and left him; and those who had come in search of him soon took him to Kashmira. As the monkey strikes the serpent rendered powerless by incantations, and as the hunter scatters the mane of a lion that is dead, even so a strong man may insult one who is tied down, but what does he gain by it but censure? Fearing that the captive should run away, they placed the honorable, but insulted *Mahammada* in the great fort at Baharupa. The new cloud at night raises the hopes of travellers bound for a distant country by the light of its lightning but finally overpowers them; the lion inspires confidence in his victims by looking backward before he springs on them. The Saturn moves in a curve when it overthrows the Ram and other constellations, so does Fate by a propitious look inspire confidence in the sinful, but overwhelms them in the end. *Mahammada* was consoled by Shaha, a female servant, and was removed

from his place of confinement by the sons of his nurse. *Mahammada*, when he was covered with perspiration, deceived his sentinels by pretending to go to bathe. He entered the bath, and thence he escaped. He then reached the place where an opening had been cut by the sons of his nurse, and he went out, as a swan does from one great island of this earth to another. There was a waterfall at Jampa' deafening the ear as if in anger, and *Mahammada* left the fort which looked like a precipice. The stones and the guard could not prevent his departure, while the noise of the waterfall drowned the clanking of the chain in his feet. The sons of his nurse then broke his chain, and they thought that they broke thereby the friendship between *Suhabhatta* and his friends. *Suhabhatta* feared that the old *Margapati* would escape as *Mahammada* had done, and though he had robbed the old man of his money, he killed him on the way. When the *Mitrgapati* was killed by the evil minded *Suhabhatta*, all the people blamed the latter, and wept as at the death of their father. *Suhabhatta*, for fear of the people, went about every night under the guidance of skilful men, like a bird fallen from its nest. To this helpless man the day was as night and the night as day. Surely when fate becomes unpropitious every thing turns out wrong. As a fisherman becomes sorry when a large fish leaps out of his boat and escapes, so was *Suhabhatta* at the escape of *Mahammada* from the prison; and he often thought of *Mahammada*.

The people had nursed and protected Piruja, and when they beheld him, they thought that he was Shikandhara who had gone to heaven. Though Piruja was the son of Shikandhara by his wife Shobhadevi, Shikandhara had exiled him from his own country, in order to prevent a commotion. He was a prince and was welcomed by the king of the north; and he now came back bringing with him *Mahammada*, in order to conquer the people of Kashmira. When Suha heard that Piruja had come with the Turushka soldiers, he sent ShriLadda and Gauraka to oppose him. The Turushka army was destroyed by the wisdom of Shri

Laddaraja¹¹⁷ and by the valor of Gauraka, even as disease is destroyed by gift and prayer. Relieved of fear, the minister Suha made *Laddaraja*, lord of *Kampana*, and *Gaurabhatta*, lord of *Kramarajya*. As in the evening which darkens the mountains, neither the sun nor the moon is visible, so when *Suhabhatta*, who had made himself felt by the king, became powerful, neither the king nor the heir-apparent could raise his head.

The hawk kills other birds, the lion destroys other animals, the Vajra-jewel pierces other jewels, and the brilliant sun throws about the planets like flowers, and thus destruction seems ever to be caused in this world by one's own people. Though the king *ShriShikandhara* was often instigated by Suha to persecute the twice-born, he, whose purpose was tempered by kindness, fixed with some difficulty, a limit to the advance of the great sea of the *Yavanas*. But Suha passed the limit by levying fines on the twice-born. As the night prevents people from seeing any thing but darkness, so this evil minded man forbade ceremonies and processions during the new moon. He became envious, and apprehended that the twice-born who had become fearless would keep up their caste by going over to foreign countries; he therefore ordered all the guards on the roads not to allow passage to any one without a written passport. Then as the fisherman torments fish in an enclosed river, so this low born man tormented the twice-born in the country. The Brahmanas burnt themselves in the flaming fire through fear of committing sin, and through fear of him who was like the heat of the fire; and thus they escaped. Struck by fear some Brahmanas killed themselves by means of poison, some by the rope, others by drowning themselves in water, others again by falling from a precipice, and others burnt themselves. The country was contaminated by hatred, and the king's favourite (*Suha*) could not prevent one man in a thousand from committing suicide. This wicked man disliked the weight of the kingdom which was hard to be borne, but he delighted in the cries of the twice-born,

which gave him pleasure. A multitude of Brahmanas who prided on their caste fled from the country through bye-roads, as the main roads were closed, even as men flee under ground when the doors of their houses are closed. Even as men depart from this World, so did the *Brahmanas* flee to foreign countries, the son leaving his father behind, and the father leaving his son, to the Death like *Suha* who sorrowed at the escape of the Brahmanas. The difficult country through which they passed, the scanty food, painful illness, and the torments of hell during life time removed from the minds of the Brahmanas the fear of hell. Oppressed by various calamities, such as encounter with the enemy, fear of snakes, fierce heat, and scanty food, many Brahmanas perished on the way, and thus obtained relief. Where was then their bath, their meditation, their austerity, and where was then their prayer? The Brahmanas wandered about in villages begging, and thus spent their time. The wrong which was done to the Brahmanas proved beneficial to them, since exiled by *Suha*, the twice-born removed their sins by visiting holy places. Some twice born men who were anxious to save their wives, emaciated by want of food, did not depart to foreign countries, but wandered about in Kashmira wearing the dress of the mlechchhas. *Suha* withheld the allowances of the twice born with a view to extinguish learning, and they, in expectation of a mouthful of food, went from house to house, putting out their tongues like dogs. It was out of his devotion to the religion of the Turushkas,¹¹⁸ not out of antipathy towards the twice-born, that he oppressed the Brahmanas; and hence his victims did not much complain. This was what *Suhabhata* told them in order to remove the impression which his actions created that he had antipathy towards the Brahmanas.

The Brahmanas, the supporters of the world, had taken refuge of *Ratnakara* in order to preserve their party, and this little Brahmana became the favourite of *Suhabhata*. But *Malanoddina*,¹¹⁹ the great guru of the *Yavanas*, feared that *Ratnakara* would rise in rebellion, and caused him to

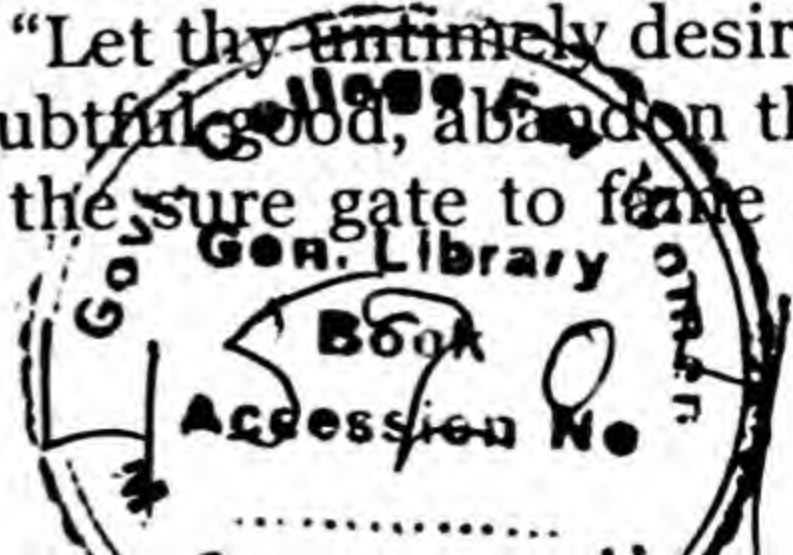
be arrested. From the time that *Malanoddina* arrived in the kingdom which was then without chamara and umbrella, the desire of enjoyment did not leave *Suhabhatta* even in dream. But enjoyments are the fruits of austerities, and the vain desire of enjoyments was painful to *Suhabhatta* like the disease of the eye. The ministers attained or lost rank and honour according to the will of the powerful *Suhabhatta*, even as the duration of the seasons laden with fruits is under the control of the sun. When *Shahikhana* saw that wisdom and power were centered in one person, he became alarmed and anxious, and did not sleep. When he saw the serpent like Suha, with his poisonous appearance, he was surrounded by darkness which he could not illumine. *Suhabhatta* spent three or four years oppressing the twice-born, reviling the Sistras, thinking of rebellion, and undergoing medical treatment for his disease. As if sent by the virtues of the people, and gathering strength from the sins of *Suhabhatta*, his consumption, which defied treatment, withered him up. What could not the sun-jewel have effected if its fire had not been quenched at the rising of the moon when the moisture of the moon-jewel allays the heat of the earth? Why did he not live for another three or four years and witness in this world the effect of his own sins at the time when *Shahikhana* rose to power.

Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1472)

When *Sahabhatta* was living, *Laddaraja* had fled through fear, and *Hamsa* and *Gaura*, captured him after allowing him a little respite. But when *Suha* died they were incited by the lust of royal power to fight against each other, even as two bulls are attracted by a cow and engage themselves in breaking each other's horns. At the time when *Laddaraja* was released from prison by *Hamsa*, *Gaurabhatta* died in battle and gladdened the hearts of the celestial females. Fortune, ever moving as the elephant's ear, now abandoned her fickleness, and settled on *Hanisa* in the absence of a more deserving object, even as an

unchaste woman clings to an old husband. But Shahikhana, though a boy, did not brook the pride of Hamsa, as the new moon does not brook the darkness increasing during the dark fortnight. The wise heir apparent (*Shahikhana*) held a council of the Thakkuras. and killed in battle *Hamsa-bhatta* who had killed *Laddaraja*. The love of the people flowed towards Shahikhana, as the water flows downwards. As black bees disregard the *Kunda* flower and go to mango blossom, so the Royal Fortune felt a desire to embrace the heir apparent, now flushed with victory. But the time has not yet come for the prince to be a king, and Royal Fortune remained therefore in a state of suspense. Owing to the excessive love of the subjects which the prince enjoyed, and owing also to his cleverness, the kiii.tr bestowed on him the management of the kingdom out of affection. Then Merakamsara, the evil minded Turushka, guided the powers of the prince as the iron rod guides an elephant blinded by madness. Men could not for a long time pollute the king's mind by dark and evil counsel, as the dark clouds cannot pollute the *Manasa lake*. The king was affectionate towards his devoted and able younger brother (the heir apparent), and was also affectionate towards those who sought shelter with him; but urged by evil minded men he became uneasy.

The king at last wished to go on pilgrimage, and for the protection of the people, he thus addressed the heir apparent and his servants: "Wealth cannot be had because those who ask for it will be glad to have it; our mind becomes corrupt without meditation and without offerings to the dead, and our body becomes polluted without pilgrimages to holy places. I have placed the weight of the kingdom on you as on the world supporting elephants, and am, like a second *Ananta Naga*, anxious to serve *Narayana*." Agitated with affection, as the sea with the Mandara hill, *Shahikhana* replied to the king with this speech, sweet as the new moon: "Let thy untimely desire to go to pilgrimage, which is of doubtful good, abandon thee; rule thy subjects and thus win the sure gate to fame and



virtue. If you, a warrior, cruelly leave this hereditary kingdom after having ruled it for a long time, it will be thought that you leave it for want of ability to rule. If you are anxious to go on pilgrimage, then what work shall be left to us, whose duty it is to serve you?" When, the heir apparent had thus expressed himself, the king of men made the following speech graced by his smile: "The little virtue that is earned by merely ruling the subject people, is like a chemical compound, composed of many components. You are like my arm, though not joined to me in person; wherefore then should the people think of my incapacity when they behold your prowess? And if you do not carry out my order, my hopes which are placed on you will be at an end." The king said thus, and was resolved to go on pilgrimage, and after a long time made the heir apparent accept the weight of the kingdom, and blessed him saying, long may he reign under the name of *Shrijainollabhadina*!

In the hope of visiting holy places, the king went out of his own country, but not from the prince's heart which was blessed with love which like a bolt held fast the king. The prince gave out valuable jewels from the treasury, and beautiful horses, and for two nights he followed his brother. Wicked people spoke to the king on the way, about the troubles of the journey, the difficulty of attaining virtue, and the small merit of visiting shrines, and thus removed from the king's mind his respect for holy places. The proud king of Madra¹²⁰ thought of the reproach which his son-in-law [the king of Kashmira] would incur, [by going on pilgrimage], and caused him to return from the holy place of Hara. When the autumn season, like a season of good luck, arrived, the king of Madra took the king with him and returned to Kashmira. Glad at the return of his brother, but angry at the approach of the army of the ally the king of Madra¹²¹, *Shahikhana* became sunk in joy and displeasure at the same time. But the noble minded prince cast aside his anger, and out of his affection for his brother, gave up the kingdom.¹²² When the day expires, the sun gives up his radiance to the fire, and in the morning the fire

returns it to the sun and becomes an object of praise, and worshippers pour on it the offering of new ghee during the day and thus increase its power. As the breeze carries with it the scent of flowers, even so the prince was accompanied by all the Thakkuras¹²³ who were the lords of the country, and he went out of Kashmira left by the Thakkuras, the army of Madra descended into Kashmira in peace, like a river without alligators.

The king *Alishaha*¹²⁴ now ascended his wide ancestral throne, but did not win the hearts of good men. If the bright sun does not set, how can the moon with its visible spots ascend? When a powerless and feeble man is thoughtlessly raised to power by a warrior, he thinks the victory due to his own valour, and considers the universe as a blade of straw. As monkeys disturb a shady garden by breaking the branches of trees, so did the Turushkas the servants of the king, disturb the kingdom. The Yavana Merakamsara caused a commotion in the kingdom, uninvited by the king.

As the black bee pollutes the closing lotus, so did this barbarian pollute the wives of the citizens, who were taken to him for his enjoyment. As mountain elephants, with their long trunks, and blinded by madness, agitate and pollute a tank, so did the Turushkas agitate the country and spread alarm. The people of Kashmira became possessed of Rakshasas who could not be prevented by the council of the ministers from doing evil, and who did not cease to oppress even in the day time. It is better for a kingdom to be without a king than with such a king. It is better for the ear to be without an ornament than with an iron pendant. Lofty houses, excellent horses, fine dresses, large gems, —all that adorned the king were now wrested by the *Yavanas*. This inert king reigned for five or six months more, not through his merit, but through the fullness of the sins of the subjects. The smoke continues to cause injury and annoyance until the fire glows brighter and spreads its flame; the smoke withers flowers, obscures

all sides, weakens the eyes, and intercepts the rays of the sun.

The king did not wish to repay the debt for the kingdom bestowed on him by Shri Shikandhara, but was anxious to increase his fortune, and urged by envy towards Mahendra, the lord of the Khuhkhuras¹²⁵ sent messengers to *Shahikhana*¹²⁶ and asked him to come away to his own country. If the alligator did not come out of the water, and the crow did not leave the lofty tree, and the rat did not quit his hole in the forest, how could these be killed? The king, in his anger, marched against *Jasratha* for giving shelter to the heir-apparent who was hostile to the king. The king was eager to overcome *Jasratha*, the chief among the strong, and his eagerness was not checked by his ministers whose influence was overshadowed by that of the mlechchhas. The envoys and those who profited by dissensions informed the king by letters of the rising prosperity of the heir-apparent, and increased by their advice, his eagerness for battle. The monarch was flattered by the *Yavanas* who hoped to obtain his favour, but his soldiers lost courage at the triumph of the heir-apparent, and they became alarmed and blamed the king's attempt. As the king of Kashmira marched, the sun shone against him, and the chiefs who were friendly to him did not join him. The mlechchha army, maddened with pride, saw darkness personified in the dust that was raised by them. The king became furious, and caused Rajapuri and other countries, which he should have taken under his protection, to be harassed by plunder, as if they had been his enemy's territories. When the king arrived at a place named *Mudgaravyala*, the king of Madra who was very powerful, sent him the following message: "Though in your camp there be infantry possessed of wealth, and swift horses, and warriors skilled in fight, yet be not confident in your war against, the world renowned artifices of the *Khuhkhuras*, We know their artifices in battle, for serpents, not others, know the ways of serpents. So long as we do not come to your help, you should remain stationary in the mountain." But blinded by

pride, the wicked chief of the *Yavanas* believed that the king of Madra had sent the message in order to gain renown for himself. The foolish king then descended from the hill, as from his high dignity, and his banners waved in the air as if they trembled in fear of the army of the king of the *Khuhkhuras*. By the charge of the cavalry, the earth was filled with dust, and Vasuki was overwhelmed with fear. The sandy ground was dug up by the hoofs of horses and drenched in blood; and the warriors sacrificed their lives in battle, in their valor. As the waves in the sea break the force of the air, so in this soa of battle the king was overpowered by misfortune.

Brahma displays his mercy by bidding the sun rise when the world is merged in darkness, by causing the advent of the spring when the joys of earth are destroyed by the cold wind of winter, and by sending a perfect and blameless king when the world is disturbed with fear by a wicked king. The sinless Shri Jainollabhadina, flushed with success, entered Kashmira like propitious Fate. This king called forth words of praise from the lips of good people, and filled all sides with the sound of the kettledrum, and entered the capital, but not before he had entered into the hearts of the people. When the king bathed during his coronation, the minds of his subjects were washed clean; and when he displayed his royal umbrella, the power of his-enemies became still. His wise policy was like the sugar in the juice of the sugarcane, and it removed the people's thirst for the good kings of old. The king revived the disregarded laves of previous kings, as the spring revives the plants destroyed by the winter. His prowess and his wise policy vied with each other in overcoming his enemies who were hard to subdue; and sometimes his prowess and sometimes his policy prevailed.¹²⁷ Beauty dwelt in his person, and the goddess of learning on his lips, Fortune rested in his breast, and Patience in his mind; and when Fame saw this, she spread his reputation afar. The king's virtuous mode of government in the Kaliyuga became glorious like the very middle of the Satyayuga. The younger

brother of the king of Kashmira named *Shri Mahat Madakhana* became his partner in royalty, his councillor in matters of policy and a judge in the investigation of the *Shastras*. What more need be said of *Shri Mahat Madakhana* than that through the king's influence he became like the king, save only that he had not the royal umbrella and chamara. What the spring is to Cupid, what the master's favourite is to other servants, that was the king of the *Khuhkhuras*¹²⁸ to the monarch, — the most beloved of all who served him.

As the fruit of his obtaining the kingdom, the king thought it proper to abolish evil practices from the country ruined by the *mlechchhas*; whereupon his favourite officers awarded to the oppressors the punishment that was due to them fearlessly, openly, and without asking for the king's orders. The king sowed the seeds of fame on all sides, planted prosperity in good men and happiness in the people, and then uprooted his enemies. In this way, he reversed the usual agricultural process of uprooting wild plants first, and sowing and planting afterwards. The sun is always powerful, and the moon is always mild, and as if to surpass them at once, the king combined both these qualifications in himself. How shall I describe all his innumerable virtues in this condensed narrative? Can the *kioi*; of the elephants find room in the hole of the jackal? I therefore paint his virtues in this book, as the Himalaya or the three worlds are painted in a picture, or as the sun is reflected in a mirror. As the cold and the heat are of equal power in the early part of summer, or as the days and nights are equal when the sun is in the equinox-, so the king; looked with equal eyes on his own as on others. As the traders do not allow any inequality in their scales, so the king did not brook inequality. As the lion does not attack other animals in the peaceful hermitage of saints, so the *Turushkas*, who were much alarmed, did not now oppress the *Brahmanas* as they had done before. Brilliant as the sun, the king bestowed his favours on men of merit [*Brahmanas*] whose very existence had been endangered

by the moon-like Suha, the very source of evil. Possessed of merit and appreciating merit in others, the king encouraged learning; and the stream of learning which had run downward, like a canal which breaks through a gap, now began to flow smoothly once more. He was the destroyer of evils, and he preserved by various means the good usages of Kashmira, even as a physician helps our digestive functions by medicines. As if to purify the earth polluted by the touch of Suhabhajta, the king kindled the fire of his prowess which lighted up the great firmament. He pursued his policy in five different ways, and his enemies, as if to defeat his purpose, dissolved themselves into the five elements, (died). To praise him for having conquered his external foes, would be to reproach a monarch who had conquered the ever present internal foes.

Though great in his strength, the king of the world undertook expeditions only when there was an enemy to overcome. The sun marches through the sky only to overcome the moon and stars. Powerful as he was, he did not wish to conquer others for the thirst of wealth: the lion does not kill elephants for the sake of meat. His enemies in the hilly regions were subjected, as if for their purification, to five fires, *viz.*—the sun, the forest fire, the king's prowess, the fire of grief, and the fire of fatigue. Although a dweller of this earth the king never went astray, even as the moon when full never rises but when the night begins. The politic king levied taxes from his poor subjects that they might not perish through their pride. The Fame of his enemies along with their Royal Fortune, sacrificed herself in the fire: of the king's prowess at the extinction of their own.

Once on a time, *Jasratha*, oppressed by the king of *Dhilli* took shelter under the king, and he protected him as the mountain protects darkness in its caves from the sun.

During the time when this restrainer of the wicked ruled the country, there lived a Brahmana at

Jayapidapura. He had a cow which was the very embodiment of the hope of the gods. The cow once broke away from him and fled, either in quest of corn in villages, or by the will of fate. The Brahmana went to *Madavararajya*, to bathe in a shrine, and there recognised his cow, the marks of which animal he knew. He knew that the cow was his, and he followed the animal in the evening and quarreled with the master of the house to which it went. The master of the house was urged by cupidity, and the Brahmana was certain that the animal was his, so their quarrel did not cease, and they took their dispute before the king's court. There they were unable to meet each other's arguments, and the king threw some water-nuts before the cow in order to test their claims. The cow had been accustomed to eat the nuts in its younger days, it smelted them and ate them with alacrity like fruits; but its calves did not eat them for a long time. The people who had not been able to determine the case, praised the skill of the king, and the king caused the pretender to be punished by the twice born, even as one deserving of punishment is punished.

Though the king was kind hearted, yet for the sake of his people he would not forgive even his son, or a minister, or a friend if he were guilty. *Mereshiya* the Yavana was once drunk and killed his wife without any fault, and though he was the king's favourite, yet the king caused him to be executed. He who was like Indra on earth humiliated his enemies and honored those who were saintly and wise. He was graced with power, kindness, and wisdom in a greater degree than any other king that had reigned before. Cupid causes *apachita* (suffering) to parted lovers, but the king who was graceful as Cupid paid *apachita* (honors) to the wise. Beauty and fierceness were blended in the king. Where except in the sea can be seen both poison and nectar, both water and fire together? Judges used to take money from the plaintiffs and the defendants since a long time, but the practice was disallowed by the good and virtuous king.

There was a Brahmana named *Laularaja* who for some reason sold a plot of level land out of ten pieces which he possessed, and the sale was effected in writing. *Laularaja* died in the year of sale, after telling his young son *Nonaraja* and others of the transaction. *Nonaraja*¹²⁹ and the others were weak, and consequently the powerful purchasers took possession of the other nine plots though they were not sold. They were powerful and for a long time kept possession of the ten plots, but in order to secure them legally they forged entries in the document. Before the time of this king who was a careful judge, they had caused the words '*ten pieces of level land have been sold*' to be written by *Nonaraja*'s son. I was in the court, and was grieved that the land was thus forcibly taken possession of. Then by the king's orders the litigants brought the document, and the judicious king read it and threw it in water [*Half of a couplet appears to be wanting here*]. The newly written letters were effaced and the old ones remained showing that one piece of level land had been sold. The king then caused it to be read by his courtiers. Thus the king's fame spread on all sides obtained some land, the forgerer received severe punishment, the subjects were happy, and the wicked remained in fear.

The moon, when full, is sometimes afraid of Rahu; the cloud which gives rain sometimes strikes us with terror and hurls thunderbolts on trees; and even so the Creator, who creates good men for the delight of the world, sometimes causes apprehension by sending diseases. At one time a poisonous boil gave much pain to the king in his forearm, and to his subjects in their hearts. As flowers are not obtainable in the month of Magha on account of the mischief caused by snow, even so physicians who knew about poisons could not, at that time, be found in the country, owing to the oppression of the *mlechchhas*. The servants of the king at last found out *Shivabhata* who knew the antidotes of poisons, and who performed religious sacrifices; even as travellers discover a well in a desert. He was well versed in the art of healing, but out of

fear of the mlechchhas he, for a long time, delayed to come. When he arrived, the king gave him encouragement, and he completely cured the king of the poisonous boil, even as an elephant uproots a poisonous tree. When that boil was healed, the fame of the physician increased with the comfort of the king, and the gladness of the people. The king was pleased and gave him much wealth, but Shivabhatta did not look at wealth, even as a man who has conquered his passions does not look at beautiful women. [Here a part of a line is wanting, the probable meaning is that] He spent the gold and silver in payment of fines by which the twice-born preserved the purity of their caste.

The king caused rest-houses for travellers to be built at the out skirts of villages, and they were supported by the villages; and he caused shelters to be built within forests. The buildings which were raised for the deceased females of the twice-born stood at every place, as if in them the females of that caste laughed at Suhabhatta. Thus the king, with unabated kindness, saved the world oppressed by the mlechchhas, even as Nariyana saved the world oppressed by the *Danavas*. The king humbled those who were high and raised up the lowly, and he thus levelled the world in order to sow the seed of his fame. The king had vowed not to touch the wives of others, but he broke the vow when he embraced the goddess of Fortune who had belonged to others before.

Then the king, who had gone through all the circumstances of life, and who knew all things, placed Tilakacharyya¹³⁰ the Buddhist, in the highest position. *Shivabhatta*, *Tilaka* and *Simha* the astrologer, became the steps by which Brahmanas rose to appointments. As the kokila increases his passion by tasting the juice of fruits, even so the king developed his finer sentiments by serving the principal Brahmanas. *Shrimana Karpurabha*, the preserver of lives, (physician) drew men of worth into the celebrated court of the king by his merit. *Rupyabhatta* could, without the labour of calculation, but by merely

observing the course of the planets in the past year, know their position in the year to come. At times Shri Rani Ramanda's¹³¹ explanation of steam in the country of Darada.

The kings of Gandhara, Sindhu, Madra, and Adri, of this king. At this time the king of Khuhkhura defeated and captured the king of *Madra*, but the king caused him to be released. The king, the king of Rajapuri soon opposed the March of *Ranasaha* and caused him to roll on the ground. The king of Udabhandapura, though supported by the king of Sindhu, was repeatedly overthrown by the king, like a pebble, and was then cast down. Once upon a time the king dyed his arrows in the hot blood of the people in the Gogga¹³² country in the land of the *Bhauttas*; and he pleased his own people by his virtues. Having won the battle in the country of Shaya,¹³³ the king saved the golden image of Buddha¹³⁴ from the *Yavanas* by issuing severe orders. The power of the king was like a test stone for the power of the *Bhauttas*. The king destroyed the beauty of the city of Luta. The hearts of the *Bhauttas* which were empty, were filled with the fear of the king, but their treasury where wealth had been accumulated since a long time remained empty. The kind hearted king, though engaged in endless wars, made due enquiries after his subjects, even as a cultivator does after the shali crop. His bow was unable to brook equality with the bow of Nariyana or of Mahadeva, but it was not much used, as his work was accomplished from a distance.

Nosrata, son of Laddaraja had been favoured by the king but was lion sent into exile, though his wealth was not confiscated, as the king considered him to be a rebel. A Yavana named *Sadaula* came from the country of Mecca and arrived before the king bringing with him many books. The king loved men of merit and he appeared before him, but the man was boasting of his own qualifications. The judicious sovereign soon perceived that the man was as void of qualifications as a drum is empty within. But that

sea of mercy, that lord of the life of the world, did not withdraw his favour from the *mlechchha* beggar, although void of merit, even as the father does not withdraw his affection from his son. Like the darkness of the night, and like nocturnal lightning, the many vices of this wicked man frightened the people. At this time, a great hermit who had conquered his passions seated himself on a high pillar in order to obtain emancipation by the practice of yoga. For nine days he sat on the pillar with closed eyes and without food, and by his blessing the queen gave birth to a son. Thus he sat there at yoga, and on the ninth day, the great festivity on account of the birth of the prince took place. *Sadaula* became jealous at seeing the hermit constantly favoured, and having lost his senses by intoxication from wine, he killed the hermit by arrows with the help of *mlechchhas*. At the sight of the deed, the warm and sorrowful tears of the people fell on the ground, and their censure fell on the king. When the king heard of the act, he drowned himself, as if for purifying his person, in the sea of fear, shame, anger, and surprise, and in the thought of what he should do. On that day, when his first son was born, the king did not bathe, nor eat, nor speak, nor do anything. On the next day the king consulted his religious guide and learned men versed in law, and he learnt that *Sadaula* deserved to be killed. *Sadaula* was not killed, owing to king's kindness, but the king ordered him to ride on an ass with his face towards the tail, and to be led about every market place, his beard drenched with human urine, his head shaved, every one spitting on him, and his hands tied with the entrails of the dead man. The punishment was like death to him though he was alive; and pure flowers from heaven which perfumed all sides fell on the king as well as the blessings of the citizens, for this act of justice.

Like *Dasharatha*, the king had four sons given unto him, and they were the delight of the people, and were born of the two daughters of the king of Madra. The eldest was named *Adamakhana*, the second, *Hajyakhana*, the

younger ones were named Jassarathakhana, and Baheramakhana.

The *Mandara* hill churned the sea of cream, and recovered the nectar and the precious stones, which were lying useless before, and brought them to use by bestowing them on proper persons. That *Mandara* hill, worthy of praise, is the king of the mountains. Even like him the king obtained wonderful fame by joining a waterfall to a stream, and the rivers which had been dry became filled with water. The king caused the canal which ran along the field to be extended to the land at *Utpalapura*,¹³⁵ and he thus made both the canal and the lands useful. He caused a canal to be carried down to the desert of *Nandashaila*,¹³⁶ and thus made the people think of the Chakradhara in the midst of the sea. This beneficent king held high his unsullied fame and made the country of *Karala*¹³⁷ a theme of praise by means of a canal. In *Karala*, the king built *Jainapuri* where the Brahmanas had their rent free villages, and where women had necklaces. The king, whose history is pleasant, caused a canal to be constructed in the lands of *Avantipura*, and the canal was rich in shali crop. When the water of the Ganges was made to unite by a mountain channel with the *Manasa* lake,¹³⁸ was the water of the Ganges purified by that of the *Manasa*, or the *Manasa* lake purified by the water of the Ganges? The king embellished the *Manasa* lake by building a town on its side, and its image was reflected on the lake and looked as if it were another town. This prosperous king connected *Suyyapura*¹³⁹ with the bank of the *Vitasta*, and thus removed the great trouble which the land had experienced from heat. He built *Jainanagari*,¹⁴⁰ rich with mathas, provided with rent free lands for Brahmanas, and with market places, extending from *Pradyumna* hill to *Amareshapura*. That town with its high stone built houses of the Nagas, was reflected on the *Jainanagni*, as if it rose from the water to conquer the heaven. The pious king of unsullied fame, forgot the joys of worshipping the feet of *Hari* in the favour of the god *Ranasvami* and *Jainagahgi*.

On the other side of Suyyapura, he built a town named Jainanagiri,¹⁴¹ and adorned with houses, it became equal to Kailasa hill. The king whose fame had extended on all sides and was widely known, and who had subdued big enemies, built a royal city named Siddhipuri at Siddhakshetra, in Sureshvari; and above the palace he built the two temples of Marttanda and Amaranatha which illumined the distant sky. In former times Suyyaraja had sought to increase the prosperity of the country. Since then several kings had passed away, but owing to the poverty of the people's virtue, there was not the least increase; nor did plants put forth twigs, or flowers, or fruits by the strength of religious penance. But owing to the purity of the religious penance of Shri Jainollabhadina, prosperity was soon attained; or how else could the prosperity be accounted for? When the virtues of the previous kings had worn off, they fell, but this king [so multiplied his acts of merit] by obtaining this kingdom, as to secure another in the next life. The land was previously dependent on the rain [for its crops], but the king made it dependent on the river; and he granted rent free lands to Brahmanas. At Barahakshetra, Vijaya [kshetra] and Ishnaka the great king opened houses of charity, and thereby caused even Indra to tremble. In places, where lands were sold, the king opened offices in order to note the sale on *Uhurja* bark, so that the sale might not be subsequently denied.

King *Jayapida* had, by the favour of the *Nagas*, discovered a hill of copper, and the hill yielded him that metal as a tribute. During this reign, the earth gave out from its mines, jewels such as are difficult to be found, and such as humble the pride of the ruby. These jewels are known by the name of *Jainamani*. During this reign the people collected from the sandy banks of rivers, gold which humbled the pride of talc and which resembled turmeric in color. Pressed by the people, the king caused an order to be inscribed on a copper plate, to the effect that future kings should take only a sixth part of the gold obtained from rivers. The *Damara Kacha*, superintendent of the capital,

built in the city a stone bridge one krossha¹⁴² in length, on the road which was difficult to traverse. Thus the virtuous king not only raised himself from mire, but delivered all men within the city from mud by the construction of the bridge. *Shivabhatta* built large mathas in various localities, and the other ministers of the king also built many religious houses.

As two powerful elephants, elated with pride, are ever ready to agitate the water in a tank, and in their madness fight with their trunks, and perish within a short time; even so Sayedha and Shura, born of the same family, sons of the king's nurse, were unable to brook each other's prosperity; and endeavoured to do harm to each other. The king, however, assuaged their anger, and they felt affection and kindness towards each other; but they killed a man, and prepared themselves for a commotion. Masoda Thakkura, was pierced, in presence of the king, by the taunts of Shura, which were sharp as arrows, and casting away his weapons went unarmed at night, attended by a limited number of followers; Shura finding him in a defenceless condition killed him. His brother, Vinna Thakkura, celebrated for his valour, demanded permission from the kind hearted king to kill Shura. The Thakkura then killed *Shura* with his followers, and thus increased his fame and relieved his mind.

The king honored the saints to such an extent, that even the king of Madra and others attended on them like dogs. The king took his instructions about religious penances and about the pleasures of life from both superior and inferior hermits, and gave them ear-pendants, vessels of gold, and clothes. Indra, the conqueror of the three worlds, is not satisfied with the fame he acquired by cutting off the wings of mountains, by obscuring the sun in clouds, and by performing a hundred religious sacrifices, but he also displays in unsubstantial clouds, composed of smoke, air, and water, the lustre of his person in varied tints, yellow, white, black, red, and green. Likewise, the king, who appreciated courage, desired, for the sake of obtaining

fame, to perform what was beyond the power of the past sovereigns, and what will be beyond the ability of future kings. Time is endless, and great is the expanse of the world, so that some future kings in some distant country may believe it possible for them to perform such worthy and enterprising acts, and accomplish deeds which may almost rival his. The king was not pleased to hear of the deeds of enterprise achieved by past kings in inaccessible mountains or lakes. And as the poet arranges words according to the sound, so did the king act according to the advice of merchants in pursuit of wealth. The king was anxious to make oblations to the fire, and leaving all other thoughts aside, he heard *Nilapurana*¹⁴³ and other *sastras* read by the panditas.

For a long time the king had conceived that this world was to the universe what the face is to the body; and that Kashmira was the principal portion of this world as the eyes are of the face, and that the line of mountains around were like eyelashes. Inside, like the eyeball, was located the *Mahapadma*¹⁴⁴ lake where large lotuses grew, and like the if the lake could be filled up and gradually built upon by any means, the kingdom. This prince of lakes, whose fathomless waters extended over twenty-eight kroshas,¹⁴⁵ like the great purposes of great men. In order to accomplish his purpose the king went by a boat to the middle of the lake, even as a yogi attains the Supreme Soul by means of his own. Previous kings did not go to the great *Mahapadma* lake constantly agitated by waves, through fear that the boat might be crushed (by the waves). It was either by the power of penance, or by his patience or on account of the greatness of his aim, that the king moved in the waters of the lake as easily as he would on land. What the mind can conceive can be worked out after a time; but what the ordinary mind cannot conceive is possible to genius alone. The good king could not at first settle what to do, but he at last devised means to convert the lake into land. He thought of filling up that lake, by conveying stones in carts and throwing them into it one above

another, even as a sea is filled up by peaks of mountains. The waggons, if built of pine planks with iron clasps, would not, he thought, break or wear off.

The eager king then returned and sought the help of old men, and they came to him. As the Sudarshana chakra encircles Dvirika, even, so was the peaceful capital of this king encircled by these men. The presiding god of his city the Mahapadma lake.

He protected the people of the four castes as if they were his sons. It was owing to the influence of the Kaliyuga that the people of the country followed evil practices day-by-day and yet prospered. Then as the fruit of their evil practices, and owing to adverse fortune, the lord of the Nagas became angry, even as a good man does on receiving an offence. In a dream he said to a potter who had not left off his good usages, that he would drown the citizens who had adopted evil practices. When the potter told the people in the morning that the Naga would drown them for their evil practices he was laughed at by all the citizens, as if he was an irrational beast. Then the Naga agitated the lake by his hundred hoods, and the roar of the water seemed like that of an enemy who had surrounded the city. Then the Brahmanas chanted their incantations and bowed to the Nagas, and boys began to cry; but like the king of death the king of the Nagas neither felt fear nor pity. The boys clasped the necks of their mothers, in fear, and the mothers shed tears, as if they worshipped the lord of the Nagas with pearls. [As the water rose], the children got up from the feet of their mothers to their lap, then to their shoulders, and then to their head, and finally departed from them even as life departs from the body; and the agitated water of the inundation clasped the trembling limbs of the women like a lover. It covered every thing, small and large, thin and thick, little and great, and spread itself over all like darkness. The lord of the Nagas, unable to brook the touch of the wicked who were drowned in that fathomless water, stayed like a good man in the woods. *Kaliya* was the

name of the lord of the Nagas, and his head when pressed by the feet of Narayana received the impression of the feet, and hence he obtained the name of Mahapadma. The king heard some one telling him in a dream that he was an incarnation of Narayana¹⁴⁶ and that his purpose to reconstruct Kashmira which lay in ruin would be fulfilled. For a short time he revolved in his mind as to how he could accomplish the work. The Naga did not refrain from punishing the city for the evil practices of the people ; why should a great being like him put up with a wrong when even an inferior being does not. Thus informed by the lord of the Nagas [in a dream] the king thought to himself that he would raise the land like an umbrella, and make it beautiful as a jewelled cup.

In that great land which would be raised in the midst of the billowy lake, in that holy and lonely spot, the hermits would attain emancipation. With stones carried in strong waggons the king filled up the centre of the billowy lake which was fathomless before. When the middle of the lake became land the king built on it Jainalanki. It was on One extremity of this very lake that king Jayapida had raised land by the help of the king of the Rakshasas. If in the dewy season the lotus plants, the water nuts, and the kavuka plants be uprooted, the foundation of Shri Jayapidakota can be seen in the bottomless gulf. On the margin of the billowy lake were Suyyakundalaka¹⁴⁷ and many other villages with traces of large houses. The king now built the rich town of Jainalanka in a deep part of the lake where even hills would be drowned, and he appointed a superintendent of the town Rupyabhanda, a man of beaming intelligence, decorated the palace gates. At Kramarajya, he built Suratanapura graced with houses that humbled the pride of the peaks of the Himalaya. The king, who had subdued his enemies, built *Jainakotta* with houses all around and adorned with silk banners above the buildings. It was through the king's orders and by the intelligence of *Rupyabhata* that dilapidated buildings, were repaired and new ones constructed. On the margin of

the *Mahapadma* lake the king, whose epithet was Jaina, built two towns named *Jainakundala* and *Jainapatana* and there were planted the creeping fennel which bore tender leaves and beautiful roots, and by which the towns were adorned. O! how mild were even the punishments which, he inflicted tempered as they were with mercy; for without killing the Domba thieves, or fastening their hands in chains, and, subjecting them to constant beating. The king forbade the killing of birds and fish in several tanks, and spread his fame on all sides.

Once on a time the king came to know that thieves had stolen a cow, and the owner lamented its loss. The king after questioning the man caused the thieves to be brought in; but the truthful Brahmana could not state the age of the animal or describe the marks on it, and he thus caused regret to the court. He only stated that the cow had bent horns. The thief addressed the king and said that as it was natural for the human body to have moles, so it was natural for a cow's horns to be bent. The king asked [the verdict of the court], but the court remained silent. The king then, with a view to examine [the animal], applied some contrivance on the horns by which he exposed the artifice of the thief and refuted his plea about the crookedness of the horns. The ministers who composed the court of justice were elated with joy by this fine judgment of the king. The chief judge Gauraka the *Gananapati* pleased the people by his forgiveness, his good sense, and the dispensation of equitable punishments, and imposed upon himself the king's duty of ruling the subjects. Some men had bribed *Malvina Mallanasaka* and had received favours from him; but after a lapse of time they became ungrateful and disclosed in court the amount of gold they had paid as bribe. Upon this the king became angry, and caused *Malvina Mallanasaka* to restore the amount to them.

Daryyivakhana had first seated himself at the feet of the king, then went hand in hand with him, then placed

himself before his eyes, and finally reached his head. The grateful king had purchased this man [as slave], and bore him even as Mahadeva bears on his forehead the crescent of the moon which sheds soft light. The sun does not dispel the darkness which settles on the world under the cover of the cloud like night; but it is dispelled by the moon which reflects the sun. Wearied with the weight of the kingdom and ever exposed to danger from the sword, the king felt a relief at the sight of the riches which he had himself bestowed on the learned MahmadaKhana. MahmadaKhana now died. Where do we see length of life in those who are agreeable to others? This truthful and prosperous Thakkura, who every year ministered through the Prithara and others to the wants of those who came to beg, now went to heaven. He was openly murdered by one of his own family whom the king had exiled from his own country and who came on the pretence of delivering a message. Enfeebled by journeys to places of pilgrimage, Vinna returned to the town of Sou [dha?]¹⁴⁸ where the king's toll were collected on articles brought from the Sindhu country,¹⁴⁹ and there he died. At this time, the great Shri Shivabhatta who superintended the king's courts of justice, also went to heaven [died]. Though these men died, the king's acts of virtue did not decrease. The elephants who prop the four sides are but as pageants to the serpent who really supports the world. In one day, the king distributed one koti of Dinnaras to the boys through Jayyabhatta.

A collection of wonderful things was made in the kingdom during the reign of this king, otherwise how could he be the *incarnation of Narayana*? He planted the country round Mārttanda¹⁵⁰ with sugarcane, compared to the juice of which, the nectar that flows from the moon is poor as a beggar. On account of the greatness of his yoga, Shri Jainallabhadina escaped wrinkles and white hair incident to old age, and displayed the faculties of a god. He made the river which flows into Bharosa, and which ensured his power and wealth.

Notes & References (provided by Prof. Gulshan Majeed):

1. Jonaraja (d. 1449) a Shaivist of high order and a Sanskrit poet of repute lived contemporaneously with Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (reg. Yr. 1420-1470). *See Appendices-I.*
2. Shaivism with its belief in the oneness of the Reality, which is all pervading, all encompassing and eternal, considers the existence of the world as manifestation and its absence the self-withdrawal of that Reality. *See Appendices-II.*
3. Kalhana begins his Rajtarangni with Gonanda, the first, whose dynasty ruled Kashmir according to him for 2268 year in Kalyug. His gives us no other information about him save the statement in sh. 59, Vol. I he besieged Mathura to help his relative Jarasamdha. Jarasamdha, the father in law of Kansa, was latter killed by Krsna. The king of Kashmir Gonanda I was slain, during this battle by Balabhadra, the brother (I, 61) Krsna.
4. Kalhana the renowned historian from Kashmir who versified in Sanskrit the ancient history of Kashmir in 6023 shloks. It begins with Gonanda and ends with Jayasimha (1128-49) Kalhana was a Kashmiri Brahman and son of Canpaka, a minister in Harsha's court. (1089-1101) He was a Shaivist and Jonaraja calls him *dviya*
5. Jaya Simha (reg. Years 1128-1149) was the son of Sussala (reg. Years 1121-1128) who was treacherously slain in 1128 and his head carried to Devsarsa by his enemies, VIII, 1847-49.
6. Shri Jainollabhadina (1420-1480) Jonaraja remember his patron by this name. He is all praise for him.
7. Son of Sussals, Jayasimha. Jonaraja who himself was a Brahman, was naturally well disposed to those who respected Brahmanas.
8. Trigatta: Present day Kangra; Kalhana writes, "Even the gods have no pity in Trigatta" meaning thereby that the place has ruthless and cruel people.
9. Yavanas: originally the term meant Yunani's (Greeks) but latter on it came to be used from all those people who traveled to Kashmir from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran. It hardly mattered whether they were Muslims, Zeroastrians or of any

other faith or creed. During the period of our study the term was invariably used for non-Kashmiri Muslims.

10. Turushkas, the Tukharians (Central Asia). During this period Turushkas were Muslim mercenaries who had found favour with most of the kings of Kashmir. Jayasimha in his fight with Dards encountered Turushkas whom he allegedly defeated.
11. Paramanuka (1155-64 AD) son of Jayasimha: Kalhana calls him Parmandi. The Tapar inscription of 1157 AD mentions him as Paramandadeva. Cunningham (*coins of Medieval India*) describes his coins with the legend Paradeva and Parmadeva.
12. Prayaga and Janaka were crafty ministers in his court.
13. Ibid.
14. The year 40 corresponds to laukika year 4200 (164AD)
15. Varttideva: Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* mentions a coin with a legend vantideva. With him culminated the IInd Lohara dynasty
16. Vapodeva: In this connection Jonaraja mentions one important fact about the polity of Kashmir that they could elect their own kings under certain conditions. Rodgers in JRBS (1879) pp.278-281 mentions his coin with a legend Bopyadeva.
17. Seireshrari it is a shrine some 300 feet above the Dal lake over the (Ishbar) mountain (Zabarvan) where Durga, one of the consorts of Siva, is worshipped.
18. Jassaka (1181-99) Sanskritized form of Kashmiri name Jass.
19. Lavanyas one of the tribes associated with Damaras, the feudal landowners. The present day agricultural class lone are supposed to be their descendents. We find in *Rajatarangini* that they were mostly inconsistent and opportunistic.
20. Jagadeva (1199-1213 AD) His coins are mentioned by Rodgers and Cunningham.
21. Bhattas, the Bhattaricas, the presiding brahmans in a tantric Siva math. These Mathas had grown rich and powerful over a period of time. Bhattas encouraged rituals and carried them to the extreme. Batta seems a derivative of this Bhatta.

22. Lahara, The Lar above Srinagar and beyond Ganderbal. One of the most influential and powerful faction of Damaras resided there Balachandra the Damra was their lord who once came to occupy a big segment of Srinagar city. He belonged to the family of Mallas
23. As the Bhattas were reluctant to elect Baladhyachandra so he put them to flight; he crushed them and burnt their houses. The battas cried in anguish and pain "we are not the battas (*Na battoham*).
24. Rajapuri, need not to be confused with Rajapuri (Rajauri).
25. Chandra was the Damra of Lar pargana.
26. Tunga the lord of Shamla was perhaps a Balti warrior.
27. Shamala Hamal Haidar Malik mentions Shamal in Kuthar ascribing its establishment to king Sacinar.
28. Salar in the Duchnipura on Bijbihara Pahalgam road.
29. Utpalapura identified with Kakapura. Utpalapura was founded by Utpala, the uncle of king Cippata-Jayapida (9th century) Jonaraja speaks about the Utpalaswimin temple created there by Utpala.
30. Kajjala; a Turushka invader identified by Srinkanth with Khusrrou's Khojlak, the Mongol who along with Sarmak and kill came to plunder Dili (Dehli) during the reign of Muizz-uddin Kaiqubad in 1287 AD.
31. Dhyanoddara, Dhyano uddar could be identified with Dhyano Bogund in the Kulgam tehsil for the field of action is nearly the area around this.
32. Vijayeshvara: Stein Kalhana's Rajatarangini I, identifies it with the town founded by Vijay follower of lord Shiva.
33. Dancing girls were part of the Kashmiri society, the female singers and dancers were received respectfully both in the royal houses and temples.
34. Suhadeva (130-20) Patronized outsiders to keep his opponents under pressure.
35. Panchgahavara: Stein (Kalhana's Rajatarangini I, 317) identifies it with Pranga where he also locates the Khasa tribe. Jonaraja writes seemi Panchgahras which means on the borders of Panchgabbar.

36. Garbharapur: Gabhar in Budil east of Panjgabbar which identifies with the Panchgabbar seemni of Jonaraja.
37. Kurushah as whole genealogy seems spurious and concocted to give Shahmeera a respectable ancestry.
38. Shahmera: Shamsu Din Shahmeera (1339-42 AD) arrives in Kashmir in 1313 AD (Saka 1235) along with his family and was given Doravait (Doravator of Majmual Tawarikh) as a land-grant for subsistence.
39. Dulchu: A discussion in its etymology of the name and the person so designated could be seen in the introduction to the Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* edited by Srikanth. He identifies the name with *darukachen* – a civil administrator among Mongol Khans. In that case Dulchu is not a proper name but an official designation. Persian chroniclers call him Zulqadra Khan which has no basis.
40. Karmaseena is perhaps Sanskritized form of some Mongol name, may be, Karamachina as given by Srikantha
41. The inhabitants of Ladakh and Tibet are generally known in Kashmir as Bhuttas and their place Botyun.
42. Rinchana grew under the protégé of Suhadeva.
41. Ramachandra in the absence of Suhadeva gave Rinchana a tough resistance but failed to stop him from achieving his goal, the throne of Kashmir. Whether he himself became the king for a period is not known. But Persian chroniclers mention his ascendancy to the throne. Kota Rani was his daughter.
44. Daughter of Ramachandara who eventually rose to play an important role in the Kashmir politics of his times. She even ruled as a sovereign for a brief period of a year.
45. Jonaraja mentions Rinchana as Sultana of Kashmiri perhaps alluding to his conversion to Islam.
46. Haidar the son of Rinchana by Koth Rani was too young to have been crowned under those uncertain times.
47. Jonaraja rightly says that Shahmera lacked the necessary strength and support to assume the throne for himself. While Persian chroniclers say that Udyandeva was recalled from his self-exilement from Kashtavar by Kota Rani to deny the throne to Shahmer, Jonaraja writes that it was Shahmera

himself who bestowed upon Udyandeva the throne of Kashmir.

48. In order to repay Shahmeera, king Udyanadeva granted his two sons the land grants in Kramraja. Infact whole Kramrajya was given to their control.
49. Acchala was the nephew of Kota Rani and son of her brother Rawan Chandar.
50. Mughdapura in the southern hills of Kashmir. Acchala enters Kashmir through Herapura (Shopian); Acchala's father Rawan Chandra was earlier bestowed the title of Raina by Rinchana, according to Hassan the title Raina is equalent to the Prime Minister. Rawana was given Tibet, Botyun and Lar as land grants.
51. Jonaraja brings in a new king and calls him Khe Rinchana which is not supported by any other historian, however there is a Kashmiri saying *Khare ryunt*, (a bad Rinchana) which perhaps alludes to him.
52. Udyan Dev (1323-1339) The brother of Suha Deva and husband of Kota Rani
53. Jonaraja mentions Sirahsatka (Shahavidina of Devnagri recension) and Kudda dina (Kumba dina of D. recension) as the grandsons of Shahmera while Persian chroniclers count them, along with Jamsera and Alishvara as his sons.
54. Hindal i.e. Qutub-u-Din (1378-1394).
55. Alishvara i.e., Sultan Alau-Din (1404-1416).
56. Shri Shankarapura is the present day Pattan established by Shanker Varman who erected two temples with the stones carried from Parhaspura which he thus left to ruin.
57. Jamsar i.e., Sultan Jamshid (1403-1404). His brother Allaudin rebelled against him, the two armies met at Zainapura. Jamshida relinquished the throne and moved to Maraz. Jamshid's care taker minister Siraj-u-Din invited Alau-Din and offered him the vacant throne. Tarikh-i-Hassan pp.
58. Tilaka sura thus obtained the chieftan ship of Bhangila.
59. Shamala i.e., Hamal Pargana Advan: Srivara iii, 194 mentions foundation of Zainapura by Zain-ul-Abidin in Karala vissay.

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60. Vijayesvara which was burnt down and subsequently rebuild and restored by king Kalasa (1063-1089).
61. Chakradhara, the present chakdar is the name of the Karewa (Udar) on the left bank of river vitasta 2 Kms away from Bejbihara. Chakdhar is one of the epithets of god Vishnav. There was a well-fortified temple on the Udar. When Raja Sussala was defeated by his rivals his soldiers and the people living around took refuge in the temple which was immediately burnt down by the rebels. The Udar is an archeological site which has so far yielded many artifacts pertaining to different epochs from BC onwards. The site is important for the coins pertaining to indo Greeks, Seythians, Kushanas and latter kings. Kalasa rebelled against his father Ananta (1028-1063) forced him to go in exile to Vejayesvara, fought him there and burnt down the temple where his father had taken refuge.
62. Jonaraja mentions a lord of Kota calling him the first actor on the stage of Kings. Whether the two Shaloks mention one and the same person is not clear.
63. Shahmera took the daughter of lord of Kota as his wife. This Kota is identified with Baringe (Bring).
64. Mr Dutta, the translator misses to translate sh no 256 wherein Jonaraja mentions the marriage of Alisher with Laksmaka the daughter of Kampaneshvar: Kampaneshvar is equal to commander of the army or lord of a Pargana.
65. Shri Kota i.e., Kota Rani who always had her eyes set on the throne of Kashmir wanted to make fool-proof arrangement to ward off the immanent danger to the throne in the shape of Shahmera who had strengthened his position by the matrimonial relations with the various "houses of power".
66. The eldest son of Rinchina by Kota Rani was Haidar who was a minor when his father died. Shahmera under whose tutelage he was and Kota Rani his mother both ignored him to avoid confrontation at this period. They both had designs for the throne and both were playing it safe. Udyandeva was a safe bet for both. Shahmera wanted to use the opportunity to place his own men at strategically important position and Kota Rani wanted to consolidate his power and do away with Shahmira. See Hassan, *Tarikhi Hassan*.

67. Kampana, as Stein (Rajatarangini, V.247n) explains designates army and not a place name as presumed by Wilson (History, p.73). J.C. Datta perhaps, guided by Wilson and Lassen (2nd AIT III, p.1049) translates Kampanadhepati as Lord of Kampana. The term here, designates the chief of the army.
68. Jayapidapura or Jayapura was a Township established by Jayapida (8th century AD) near the present day Andar Kot.
69. Kota yields to Shahmera, but was still imprisoned and thus deposed. Persian chroniclers have created farce out of it. Where in she is said to have committed suicide on the nuptial night by driving a dagger into her belly. Stein also writes without any foundations that she was murdered by Shahmera.
70. Tikshnas/Tiksna is the term generally used for desperado or assassin. These were the people engaged to perform a job on some consideration or immediate gain. They were ruthless and only answerable to the person who this engaged them.
71. Shamsu-Din the title under which Shahmira in 1347 (744 AH/ 1399 BK) assumed the throne of Kashmir. Sultan Shamsu-Din discarded the then current Bikrami and initiated a new era known popularly as Kashmir Era beginning from the date of enthronement of Rinchan 1343 A.D. It was a solar calendar of 360 days and in order to make it correspond with the Hijri calendar, he ordered that after the elapse of two years and nine months one month should be added to the same year. This additional month was called lood months Kashmir calendar was fashioned after the Yezdgard III calendar of Iran. Hassan has made an error while mentioning the Iranian months. See my article Kashmir calendar, Journal of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University Srinagar.
72. Rajasthanya is erroneously translated as Rajputs. They were, infact high state officials. Rajatarangini vii, 601 mentions Rajasthana, in connection with king Kalasa's (1063-1089) endeavours to winover the estranged Kadarpa by offering him the charge of Rajasthana (Stein Rajatarangini vii, 601.n). *Corpus of Inscriptions of India* (iii, p.157) mentions as inscription of Gupta period where the Rajasthaniya is given as an official designation. It was a very high office. Here in our passage it seems to be connected with Prime

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Minister or Chief Justice, the offices was always held as important.

71. Kishtawar
74. Jamsher – (Jamshid) – Reg. Year 1342-44 AD; subsequent events in his history depict him as a timid, less scheming and a less ambitious king Ali Shah.
75. Pargana Devasar. Devasar and Avantipura were then the strong holds of Damaras. Damaras were active in these two pargana from 10th century on words and had given many a sleepless nights to the kings from time to time. As Alishah was related to Damaras through matrimonial alliance he found himself safer there. Alishah understood the importance of Devasar which was then under the direct charge of king's son. It would have been near suicidal to allow such a hostile royal army build up in one's rear to exist. So he left Avantipura which was subsequently attacked by the king and put to sword a large number of his brother's soldiers.
76. Avantipura had a strategic importance. As a small tract of land between a mountain and the river it could not only hold back the invading armies from Srinagar but also block any communication up South. Furthermore, the two fortified temples of Avantishvar and Avantiswamin could accommodate large armies if needed.
77. Sayyaraja the city prefect
78. Alsvadana- Alaudin the title under which Alishah occupied the throne (1344-55 AD)
79. Sopur; According to Waqat-i-Kashmir of Azam Dedmari, Jamshed was subsequently slain by his brother Alau-Din.
80. Persian chroniclers describe this encounter of the king with the Yognis during Shihab-u-Din's reign and even try to relate the leader of the Yognis with Laladed the famous Saint-poetess of Kashmir.
81. Datt, the translator of the Jonarajas *Rajatarangini* mentions, on the basis of a corrupt text, Buddhagira as the name of the edifice at Rinchana pura. Rinchana pura was established near or around Buddhist site of Buddhagiva (modern Budgir, Srinagar).
82. Sirahastaka, Shehab-u-Din (1355-1373) was an able administrator and a just ruler. He brought peace and

tranquility to Kashmir by subduing the war lords, chiefs of the paraganas and Damaras through various stratagems. He neither spared the rod nor withheld the favour of landgrants. He entered into matrimonial alliances with them to the disliking of Jonaraja.

83. One of the tribes who wandered along the shores of Caspian Herodotus mentions them as pausikae and Ptolemy and strabo as pasikae and Aspasiakae. See Rennell, *Geography of Herodotus*, p.276.
84. Laula, Chandra and Sura were the three influential Damra Chief who spearheaded his expeditions against rulers of various countries.
85. Heun Tsang's U-To Kia-han-cha. Udhabhandopura: Alberunis Waihand (Alberuni's India (i) p.206-317 included modern city and on the right bank of Indus was once the capital of Qandhara identified by Stein as Gandhara. Govinda Khan was the ruler of Sindupa and Gandhara. Udhandapure, Sindhi and Gandhara are the places in some close vicinity to each other and adjacent to the territories of Kashmir. During Shahmere period first two are either spoken of as vassals of Kashmir or its allies (see Srikantha, *Rajatarangini introduction*, p.86).
86. Shingas is modern chingas, a small principality on way to Kishtawar via Anantnag Semthan which always was the first abode of renegades from Kashmir.
87. Ghazni in Afghanistan Srotny and Xathriya are perhaps two tribes residing in and around Peshawar.
88. Astanagara – Hastnagar, right cities in Peshawar Distract (*Geography of India*, p.50).
89. Purusavari – Peshawar.
Nagaragrahara (Nangnihar) or Jalalabad in Afghanistan.
Hindughosa – Hendukush: It is pertinent to mention here that Jonaraja was no historian and is also not known for traveling around. Therefore much should not be expected of him. He was not in a position to check the authenticity of his information.
90. Udakpati the lord from Udak, the lord of north (ern region); perhaps the Mongol invader who looted Delhi during Feroz Tagaluq's reign.

91. Satluj river. Shehab-u-Din establishes his transit camp here.
92. Susrama pura present day Nagarkot and adjoining areas.
93. Bhauttas: Little Tibet. Shehab-u-Din crosses the river Sindh but returns back without putting up a fight.
94. Kutabhatta a scholar of merit.
95. Lasa is the niece of his queen.
96. On the basis of comment, *Devdrspr* (i.e. against idolatry) made by Jonaraja, Prime Minister Udayasri cannot be called a Muslim. He could well have been a Truka (of trikasashtra who strongly oppose ritualism and idol worship). Lala the poetess of Kashmir who was herself Shavist ridicules Bhattas for idol worship (*Bhatta, Bhatta, Dvar Watta poz kas karakh Hoti Bhatta*).
97. Kambhudhina is the Qutub-u-Din, the Sultan of Kashmir (1373-89). His real name was Hindal Khan. He was younger brother of Shihab-u-Din who nominated him his successor in the absence of his son Hassan whom he had exiled to Yogini pura (Delhi) on the insinuation of his wife Lasa, Qutub-u-Din was scholar and poet and used Qutub as his *name de plume*. It was during his reign that Amir Kabir Syed Ali Hamadani arrived in Kashmir. The event has been totally missed by Jonaraja.
98. Damra Laula Chandra was the feudal lord in lar pargana.
99. It is a sarcastic remark for Laula served a Muslim so diligently and sincerely that he got buried like them, though under the stones flung from the fort.
100. Qutub-u-Din despite his good intentions for Hassan is carried over by the wicked talk.
101. Udayshri and widow of Laula Damra thus planned the murder of the king but one Laksmaka got them both exposed. Udayshri continued with his mischiefs against Qutub-u-Din thus forcing him to take an appropriate action against him.
102. Haibat Khan
103. Uddaka and Suhaka were related to each through Muhammada who was son of Suhaka and son in law of Uddaka. On Udda refer to Srikanth *Rajatarangini* pp.93 where Udda is mentioned as Udda Bande, the maternal

uncle of Sikandars mother. His wife Devata (devath) was the chief wet nurse of Sikandar (CF *Srikanth op.cit.*)

104. Present day devur on the right bank of river vitasta known for the ancient monuments ascribed to Lalitaditya.
105. Uddaka on the instigation of Shashoba, the mother of Sikandar kills his daughter and son-in-law for reasons of nowhere mentioned. Datt is misled by a corrupt text to attribute the instigation to the king himself. May be Shashoba or Uddaka or both had some hidden political agenda to accomplish which failed due to the right measures taken in earnest by the king. Uddaka was a proud, arrogant and jealous character. He could hardly tolerate his rival.
106. Timur invaded Delhi.
107. Yavanyas, Mleechchas and Turushkas are invariably used by the Hindu Historians of Kashmir to refer to non-Hindu non-Kashmiri people. Originally the terms meant Greeks, flesh eaters and Tukharians respectively. But by the time of Jonaraja the terms came to be applied to all the Muslims who arrived in Kashmir or became known to them. Mleechcha became a highly derogatory term. Jonaraja calls Amir Timur, the Raja of Mleechchas in order to denigrate and ridicule him.
108. Mir Mohammad Hamadani the illustrious son of a more illustrious father Amir Kabir, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani arrived in Kashmir during Sultan Sikandhars reign and stayed here for 22 years engaging himself in the spread of doctrines of his faith; guiding people to enlightenment and instructing rulers in the matters of just rule. Jonaraja calls him a Yavana. Perhaps he uses the term Yavana for all those foreign Muslims who were scholars, writers and spiritual guides, for he refers to one Mulla Nodina (Mulla Noordin) a scholar of some repute as *Parama guru* of Yavanas. *See Appendices-III.*
109. Jonaraja, of course, censors Yavanas for their activities to promulgate and make popular a new religion, marginalizing the Brahmans, in Kashmir. He calls them Locusts destroying a paddy field: ... who came here and fattened. He holds them responsible for the loss of efficiency of Brahmanic incantations.

110. King Harsha (1089-1101) who is known for his temple breaking activity in Kashmir.
111. Triperhvara shrine at Triphar near Dal.
112. Jonaraja without absolving Skindara of his crime against Hindus holds Suhabattha responsible for whatever happens to Hindus in the reign of his patron and protector Skindara.
113. Jonaraja laments the decision of a large number of Brahmanas to relinquish their original faith in consideration of the worldly favours. He is not convinced that people converted to new faith because of its inherent qualities and in opposition to the contradictions and casteism as found in the Hinduism.
114. Nimalacharya was a famous popular Shaivist Scholar.
115. Ladda Marges a non Brahman Hindu; Hassan and Baharistani *Shah* call him Ladi Magre.
116. Durdana desh, a Khasa inhabited region in the North West of Kashmir.
117. Laddaraja was made a army chief for his services to the state and experience in the battle field. Compare with ftn 66- for Kampana.
118. Shalok 670 of Jonaraja needs to be read again and again. It gives us to understand that Suhabhatta did no wrong and had no malice for Brahmanas but he was zealous follower of Trishka Darshana. The wrong explanation of *Turskha Darshana* has created unnecessary confusion. Turishka or Trika is a kind of Shiavist philosophy which does not believe in exoteric beliefs and practices. It advises its followers to do away with rituals of all kind. It was what Suha Bhatta believed in as a Brahman. Otherwise there is no need of saying "that he had no hatred against Brahmans but it was his zeal for Islam".
119. Mulla No (r) dina is unfortunately confused with Shaikh-Noor-ud-Din Alamdari Kashmir. Mulla is called a Yavana (*Parmguru Yavanam*) a term Jonaraja reserves for the immigrant Muslims with "some pretension" of scholarship. In the following stitches (Shalokes 650) Jonaraja clearly alludes to his arrival in Kashmir.
120. Madra: Jammu is meant, Billa Deva the Raja was slain in his fight with Jassarat Khukhura; Elliot – *Tarikh-i-*

Mubarak Shahi, iiv, pp.56-59. Raja Billa Deva made Zain-ul-Abidin to retire and installed his relation Ali Shah on the throne. Raja visited the valley before being slain (as stated above).

121. Madar is the ancient name of the region now included in the Panjab State. Cunningham identifies it with Central Panjab between Bias, Chinab and Jehlum. Madar Rajya was a powerful state, known to the people of Mahabharat; Pandavas has many matrimonial relations with the ruling family of the Rajya. The petty rulers of Jammu and Madar lived in continuous hostility with each other. During the period of our study most of the area of Madar Rajya was under the suzerainty of the rulers of Jammu. Jammu was then known as Northern Madra (see, Gulabnama of Divan Kriparam).
122. Some of the Kashmiri scholars are of the opinion that Shahikhana was forced by the king of Madra to abdicate the throne of Kashmir in favour of his brother Ali Shaha.
123. Thakuras here means the chiefs of the parganas and nobility associated with the king.
124. Ali Shah (1419 A.D) was restored on the throne by his supporters which included the army from Madra. Though Shahikhana (afterwards Budshah Zain-ul-Abidin) surrendered the throne peacefully but the foreign army accompanying Ali Shah created havoc and looted and massacred the people of Kashmir. Ali Shah and his council of ministers could do nothing to prevent them from the mischief and protect the life and property of a common Kashmiri. It is pertinent to mention here that when Indian Army reached Srinagar on 27 October, 1948 on the pretext of protecting Kashmir from invaders across the border its first significant act included the massacre of the populace living around Damodhar Uddar. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his council of Minister could do nothing to protect the common Kashmir.
125. Khakhuras: Name of the tribe which has *Khyukh* as its diminutive. They were ferocious warriors – producing dread among the Kashmiris.
126. Zain-ul-Abidin was invited by Jassarath to his country; Shrivara in his *Zaina Rajatarangini* chapter iv, sh 173

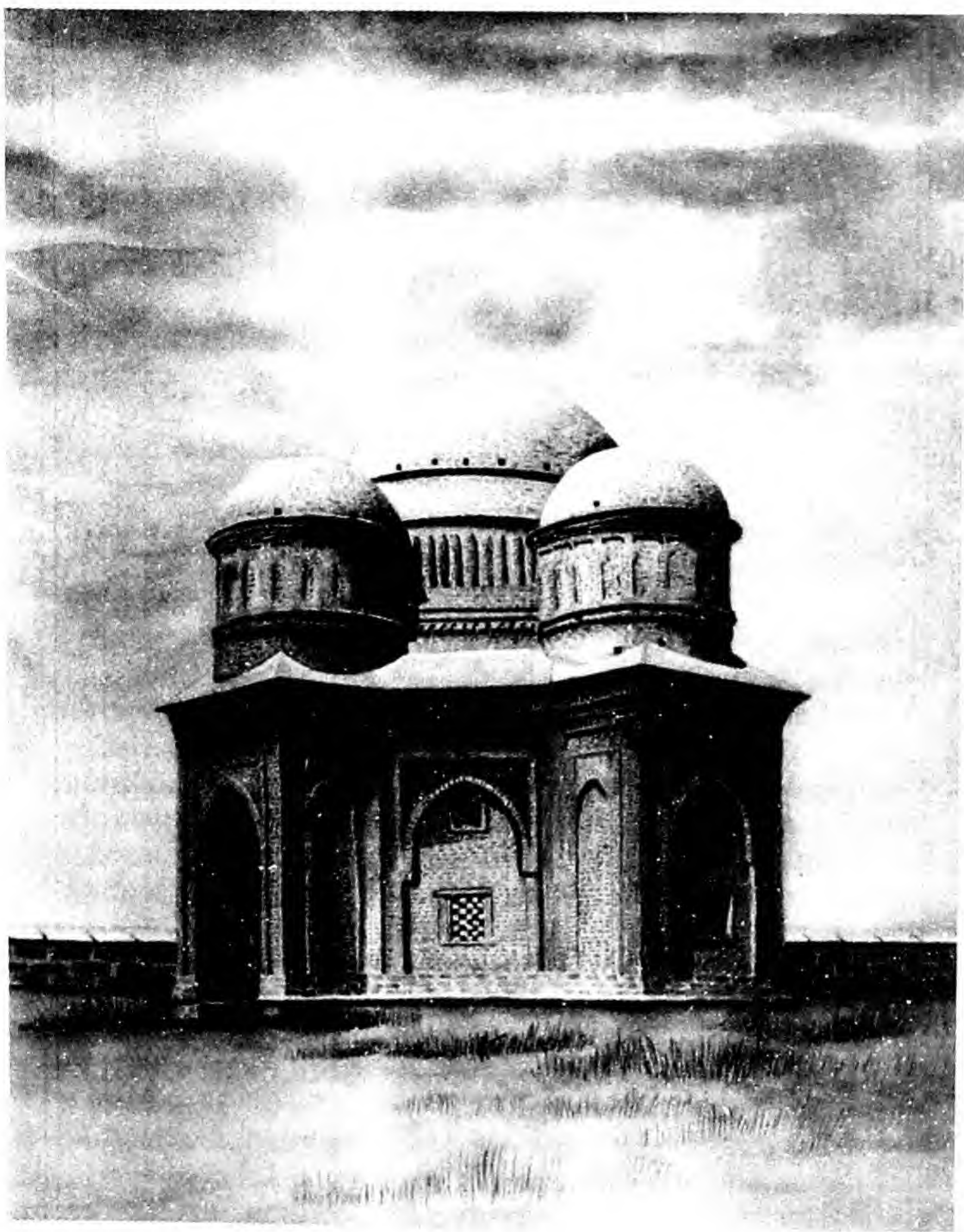
- writes that Jasrath wanted to usurp Kashmir but Muhammad Margesa saw through his scheme and prevented Shahikhana from putting too much trust on him.
127. Zain-ul-Abidin was both kind and harsh as the times demanded.
 128. Lord of Khakhuras Jasrath who came very close to the king, by his stand when the king was in distress and in real need of help.
 129. Nonaraja father of Jonaraja.
 130. Buddhism had since lost its ground to Hinduism in Kashmir but it was still being practiced by a very respectable segment of the society. We find the mention of some living monasteries in Kashmir even during Muslim period. Buddhists were down but not down under. There were Buddhist scholars who commanded respect even from the rulers. Tilakacarya was one, who got appointed as Mahatma. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* laments that Sultan encouraged infidels and class of polytheists (*Sanadid Kufra wa Tawaif Mustirikan/Msf 239*).
 131. Kashmir was the major destination not only for Muslim scholars fortune seekers and refugees but of out sider Hindu scholars as well. One Ramanandas arrival is recorded by Jonaraja as well. Ramananda is the author of Bhasya Vyakhya (The commentary on Bhasya). He was a sanyasi of Ramavat sect (Vishnavite).
 132. Goga, and Saya (shay) are the two place names in Ladakh.
 133. Shay is the village on way to Hemis from Leh. There is a place of worship associated with Syed Ali Hamadani Amir Kabir. It is a Muslim populated area. During Buddhist agitation shay was specially targeted by the ill advised faction of Buddhist agitators.
 134. Tarikh-Hassan III p. Tahafat-ul-Ahbab MSF 136b and Baharistan-i-Shahi write about the Sultans zeal to repair temples and establish new ones with their idols. HE even saves a golden image of Buddha in Ladakh from being destroyed at the hands of Yavanas.
 135. Kakapura, on Srinagar-Pulwama road, is said to have been established by Utpala, the uncle of Cippata – Jiyapida (9th century); presumed location of Utpalswamin. Jonaraja speaks about its restoration by Budshah.

136. Nandhel, Hamal
137. Pargana Adwin known as Karala which included Zainapura, established in the name of Zain-ul-Abidin.
138. Manasasaras of *Nelmatapurana* (1338) modern Manasbal; a canal from river Sind also falls into it.
139. Sopur.
140. The area which falls between Hariparbat and Umarhair. It includes Nowshera where Budshah allegedly built his multi-story edifice. The area still yields terracotta figurines and other antiquities.
141. Zainagir in Baramulla District.
142. Krosha is Kosa, the measure of distance popular during medieval times.
143. Nilamatpurana composed in 7th century A.D.
144. Wular lake
145. Zanalank in the middle of the Wular lake.
146. Narayanavatara Budshah was supposed to be the incarnation of Narayana. He was deified like Akbar the Mughal emperor of India by the Hindus. Mirza Haidar Duglati says that he paid attention neither to infidelity nor Islam (*Tarikhi Rushdi* p.434).
147. The village of Suyya Kundala was supposedly on the banks of the Wularlake. In the 9th century this village was given as an agrahara to Brahamans by Avantivarman (855-883).
148. Sodara near Wangat (Narannag)
149. Toll and cess was collected on the goods brought from Ladakh at Gagangir and Gandarbal right from the ancient times.
150. The Surya temple at present day Kehribal (Mattan-Uddar). The king established a town here which was known for Sugarcane.

Zainarajatarangini

THE KINGS OF KASHMIR (1120-1486)

SHRIVARA



Budshah's Tomb

I bow to Shiva who is the sole lord of the three worlds, and who has attained eternal godhood and freedom from endless pain. May Shiva, one half of whom is female, give us faith in the unity of godhood. Witnessing one half of Shiva's person united with one half of Parvati's, the moon also cut off one half of his body and united himself with night, as the locks of Parvati.

The court-poets of celebrity who make their composition elegant by the proper arrangement of words, and who distinguish milk from water, [i. e. good from bad], are entitled to respect. In this world, which is without a master, and covered by the darkness of uncertainty, what is it that can make the things of the past known except the works of poets which are like lamps ? Kings were perishing in this world, but the poet Jonaraja¹ enabled them to live in their fame to the end of time. Fate however removed the poet *Jonaraja* from the world, as if in anger. The learned Jonaraja became merged in Shiva [i.e. died] in the year 35, while writing the *Rajatarangini*, I am pupil of this Jonaraja, my name is *Shrivarā Pandita*,² and I have undertaken to finish the remainder of the book of kings. What a difference between the production of my master and that of mine, I who am possessed of little sense! How can chalk do the work of camphor merely because it resembles it in color? The good bear me read, for the sake of the annals of kings, and not for the merits of my work, and they understand my composition by their intelligence. Other poets compose works of beauty, my work has been undertaken to commemorate the accounts of kings. I have received various benefits, gift of wealth and of village, and the privilege of performing the Homa³ sacrifice; and I have

been brought up by the king like his son. I will narrate his history therefore, partly to free myself from my endless obligations to him, and partly because I am attracted by his merits. How much of his merits can be described by one tongue? My words could have described them, if I had as many tongues as there are hairs on the body. Truly my words are not able to enumerate the merits of the king which are like the stars in the clear and boundless sky. Yet as the three worlds are represented within the limits of a picture, even so shall I delineate the merits of **Shri Jainollabhadina**. I will describe according to my understanding what has not been described by my guru. One can free himself from obligations for houses, gifts, and honours received, by describing the reign of this king and of his son. The *Jainatarangini* will recall to mind the prosperity and the adversity of men who are now dead, but whom many have seen; and in whose mind will it not raise a feeling of indifference to worldly desires ?

Shri Jainollabhadina having destroyed his enemies in distant lands returned to his paternal kingdom, and obtained it even as Rama had done. The treasuries were drained, but he collected what remained, in order to carry out his designs, even as a poet collects from the vocabulary his words and meanings, suited for his work. The reign of this king after that of **Alishaha**, who was ignorant of the art of ruling, was like the cooling sandal paste after the heat of summer in a desert had departed. The punishments which his enemies received from his hand were like those received from Yama after death, each getting it according to his merit. Though the king possessed great merits and executed good works, yet, strangely enough, he was always possessed of riches of various kinds. The goddess of Fortune certainly lived on his face, graced with his bright eyes and dwelt in his house, bright with silk, rich with virtue, and adorned with women of lotus-like beauty; while his fame, like the notes of music, spread over Bangara, Malava, Abhert, Gauda and Karnata. Radiant as the sun but soft as the moon, learned as Budha, and wise as

Vrihaspati, the king obtained the names of the planets, and all the planets were in his favour. The king was like the jewel that fulfils every desire, and his merits attained great lustre even as the *Kumudu*⁴ flowers do at night on seeing the moon. The six schools of philosophy which gladden the learned, delighted his heart, as the six seasons, which gladden men by flowers, adorn the garden of Indra. The three great faculties [majesty, perseverance, and wisdom] found in the king the three amiable attributes [virtue, wealth, and desire], and like lovers they lived in harmony in the king. Like Pirtha, the king satisfied every day those who came for alms, and his fame spread on all sides, as if to invite the poor. Artists considered him as *Vishvakarma*⁵ descended on earth, yogis considered him as *Goraksha*, and chemists looked on him as *Nagarjuna*.⁶ The king favoured those who showed their skill in arts or in letters, and they were thus encouraged to persevere in their callings. He spent his life in listening to poems and songs, in dance and in the music of the harp,⁷ and in shows, and was not anxious for work. He directed those who knew the shastras to persevere in their duties, for they work justly who know the shastras. Driven by the irresistible force of his arrows, his enemies always lived like insects in woods and remote places. His spies made daily enquiries about his enemies affairs as well as about his own, and the king knew all about his subjects except their dreams. No one could exact even five ganda's of cowries from a pious householder engaged in prayer. The king caused the feet of the chandala thieves, who ought to have lived by agriculture, to be chained, and he compelled them to work on land. Knowing that low caste men take themselves to thieving when in want of means of livelihood, the king gave them provisions. He knew Chaks and others of *Krainarajya*⁸ to be wicked men, and he therefore confiscated their land, made provision for their livelihood, and kept them in the *Madava*⁹ rajya. The annoyance from thieves being thus repressed by the prudence of the king, travellers slept at ease in the woods

as in a house. The king lived in a simple way and in doing good works; his actions were free, all his state officials were prosperous, and he gave himself up to enjoyments in various towns. Who does not praise the eternal sun who rises on the eastern mountain and drives away the mischievous darkness, the lover of the lotus, who sheds his beams on it and is adored by it, and who withers the kumuda flowers, and displays his power to men?

The Thakkuras, sons of the king's nurse, were elated with pride, made ill use of their wealth and fortune, and like unchecked elephants, became the destroyers of the king's joys. The eldest of them, Merathakkura, though conspicuous on account of his position as judge, and an aged Musula¹⁰ became illustrious by his literary work. It was with difficulty that he reached Kashthavat from Vatapatha; there he found himself in the midst of snow with which his feet were affected. He stayed for sometime before the shrine of god Manikya on the shores of the lake, and having obtained a few attendants, he arrived at Chika country after a long time. He reached there, worried by hundreds of difficulties, and his feet were washed by a saida as by a servant, and in order to allay the pain of the sore, physicians bandaged one of his feet with thongs, for life. In this place he lived five years with difficulty, and made various attempts to reach his own country and to take possession of his wealth.¹¹

The king, after he had conquered Sindhu, Hinduvat, and other countries outside his dominion, went with his army to conquer the Bhutta country. As soon as the army had entered a forest, they saw with wonder, a black skeleton of a man by the light of a lamp placed on a wall. The wise men who had appreciated the king's worth used to assert, that, by performing penances extending over a long period the king had attained emancipation, and had cast off his [former] body, as a serpent casts off his skin. Their words were now proved; or how could the king know of hidden things if he had not been a saint?

The Description Of The Kingdom

The king begot three sons,¹² the eldest *Adamakhana*,¹³ the second *Hajyakhana*,¹⁴ and the youngest *Vahramakhana*.¹⁵ The eldest was handsome, and he pleased his father by the natural grace of his person and by his appearance, even as the moon pleases the sea. Hajyakhana displayed his greatness in his daily boyish pastimes, even as the camphor indicates its nature by its sweet scent. The two boys were beloved of their parents, and the happy king left them in charge of two Thakkuras, the sons of his nurse, in order to be brought up. The two Thakkuras, sons of the nurse, knew how to serve their own interests and to damage their opponents; and they became to each other like the two disputants in logic. They cut the stem of the tree of brotherly affection, and owing to their mutual envy, became envious of the princes; and the three worthy sons of the king grew up in mutual enmity caused by the Thakkuras. The country was like a body of which the king was the soul, when the king felt happy all others felt happy, and when he felt miserable all others felt miserable. It was owing to the wicked policy of the ministers that the princes felt angry with each other, and the elder and the younger did not perform their mutual duties.

Once on a time the king heard of the enmity which his sons bore against one another, and he ordered Adamakhana to prepare himself for departure without delay to a foreign country. "O! son" he said "if you do not act according to my reasonable command, difficulties will arise which will destroy your dignity, life, and wealth." When he had heard these words of his father, the prince said to his servants that he would go to Parontsa¹⁶ where they would always live in happiness. They replied that his brother was of magnanimous mind, and liberal, and could bestow wealth on his servants; and they asked him if he could do so. "We would rather die in his service and before his eyes," they said, "than serve you who are so weak and devoid of

powers." As an arbitrator stands between the two who are engaged in making a partition, so Fate stood between the elder and the younger brother in order to equalize their happiness and misery by reversing the scales. The king was afraid that the life of *Adamakhana* was in danger, and he sent him out of the country within a few days on the pretence of sending him to *Bhutta*.¹⁷

Mechanics showed to the king different kinds of thunder-weapons¹⁸ which make men tremble with the deep sound they make. The king brought out these weapons made of different metals, new, and hard; and at his command I composed the following lines in praise of the weapons:

In the year 41, in the Saka year 1586, the king *Shri Jainollabhadina*, renowned like the lord of heaven (*Indra*), the victorious, the ruler of *Kashmira*, constructed this weapon which is well known to the world and is spoken of in the *mausula*¹⁹ language. It destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws arrows [balls] of stone from a distance, and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments, strong, well regulated, of deep sound, and of great value; such was the engine constructed by the mechanics. The engine will be useful to the king like a new town. May it be useful by the large quantity of the different metals of which it is composed, and by its frame, by its sound, and by its power of expansion.

The engines, vying with the thunder in their roar and their fire, were inscribed with these lines, and they looked graceful.

In a short time *Adamakana* returned after the conquest of *Bhutta*²⁰ *Ladakh* and *Hajyakhana* went to the mountains of *Lohara*²¹ under the orders of the king. The king knew that two swords do not find room in the same scabbard, and so he caused one of his two sons to go out and the other to come in to the country. *Adamakhana* bathed and drank and played and engaged himself in amusements every day before his father. The swan that lives at ease in the *Sati Lake* does not leave it in the rainy season till he is struck dead by the fowler.

In the year 28 *Hajyakhana* wished to return *Kashmira*,

when Ravatralavala thus spoke to him:²² O! master! the friends of your elder brother are enjoying the delights of Kashmira, we alone have left our home and are pining in a foreign land. The powerful Rajanaka the Pratihara, Kulaju the Margapati, and others who are proud of their prowess are awaiting us in Kashmira. Even if you be disobedient to your father, will the merciful king kill us all in his anger? Should Adamakhana come out with his forces to fight, he will have to fly before you, even like young birds before a hawk. The people of Rajapuri²³ wish us good, let us therefore go by the way of Rajapuri. What can we not win through courage? Now that Agira the Pratihara is dead there lives no hero in the country; you should therefore proceed and snatch the throne of your father. We warriors, your subordinates and followers, will fight with your father's men; and you should see what heroism is." "Be it so" said the Khana, and he asked the opinion of two ministers, Saphiryya Damara and Tajatantresha, and they thus replied :—"O! master! your servants are anxious for their homes, and are speaking without due consideration of circumstances, and their advice will lead to mischief. How can we get into the country so long the powerful king is alive? Who can with a coconut shell cover the radiant sun in the sky? No one will be able to oppose the king so long he lives, hence for the present, you should do what is pleasing to him. What prosperity may we not attain if your father be favourably inclined towards you? The virtuous have reverence for their king and senior; and even when angry, he is more propitious to you than others even when they are favourably inclined. The light which emanates from the sun even on a cloudy day, is more than what emanates from a burning lamp. The king always renders justice, and the purity of his mirror-like heart is not destroyed by the foul breath of the wicked. He is attached to the doctrine of nirvana,²⁴ and is equally versed in all the shastras; he is kind and does not inflict any pain. Though he had risen against his father's party, he did not discard his affection for his father, and his father's last moments were hallowed like those of king Jaina. His officers are wise, friendly, humane, and

worthy of him, and it is on account of this happy circumstance that his sons are prospering. He is your father and you his son, and we all are your servants. If you go and fight against him how can we gain a victory? The king has many servants, and if some of them perish, his loss will be little, if the Gadura bird loses a plume, is his speed impeded? There is no auspicious omen in our favour; the country of Kashmira is mountainous and difficult of access; and the king is your father; for these reasons we should avoid a war now. Let the king rule over the interior of the country, and let us rule over the outer country ; what blessings have you not got here by his favour except the royal umbrella? If they come to fight us here, they will not be able to conquer us, and if we go into the interior we shall never be able to overcome them" The Khana how ever, instigated by the wicked, and in his own pride, set out by the Surapura²⁵ road, in spite of this advice, and keeping Rajapuri before him, came to Kashmira. The king in the meantime had heard of the sudden arrival of his son, and had taken his army with him, and he soon issued out of the capital. While marching with the army, the king felt certain that he would die, and caused this verse to be read:—"The thought of war and peace always creates alarm ; and when such alarm is caused by ones own son, his happiness is at an end." As the king marched, he heard blessings of men in villages, and people said that the son was under the control of the ignorant and had caused pain to his father, not to speak of the sin committed in rising against his father. While the king was yet reigning, his son, forgetting the affection due to his father, had come to bring affliction to the country; that the prince might with his army speedily fall like an insect in the fire of the king's valor, and the virtuous king might reign without opposition, and his enemies, defeated in battle, turn back. The king heard this and more, and arrived with his army at a place named Suprasamuna.²⁶

Then when the armies of the father and son met at Pallashila,²⁷ the king sent a Brahmana as messenger to his son. But the messenger was for sometime surrounded by the angry people who were anxious to know his message, and

they shouted and asked what the Brahmana had to say. The messenger thus fearlessly delivered the message of the king, "O prince! O mighty armed! O! Sea of amrita! Attend to what your father orders which I speak unto you. The son is to the family as the fruit is to the tree, he is the benefactor in this as well as in the next world, and always delights the eyes of the parents; by whom can such a son be discarded? All people endeavour to provide for their sons, since in old age an obedient son brings comfort and ease. You, who are born my son, are my stay in this world and in the next; but now all my hopes of ease have fled, and my anxiety has increased. The protection which you are giving to the wicked men obscures my reign, even as a breath obscures a mirror. The unruly Khashas, ever ready to destroy, will not remain long with you, even as swans do not remain long in tanks. Why have you of your own accord, and without my orders, come into the country? Who can obtain the kingdom by force except when propitious fortune favours him? You were ruling over all the outer countries, wherefore were you not satisfied with them, and wherefore have you come to take away the rest of my kingdom by force? O son! Cease to entertain vain and vicious thoughts; the sin of the destruction of the two armies will rest on thee. This have I told you in the words of your father; but I tell you truly, that, like a sparrow before a hawk, your warriors will fly away from the king." When the soldiers heard these unpleasant words of the Brahman, they cut off his ears, and with the blood they marked the foreheads of their friends. When Hajyakhana saw this he felt ashamed, and came to Abhimanyu the Pratihara, and asked permission to leave his soldiers and to bow at the feet of his father. "Be the king pleased or angry," said he "he will deal with me as he likes. I shall always serve the feet of the king, and he surely will protect us. In my judgment, this battle should not be begun. I do not, even in dream, think of mischief to the king; he who bestows on me happiness both in this world and in the next is greater to me than a god. My elder is approaching in the front, and my father is preparing for battle, I have not come prepared to kill my father." When Tajatantripati and

other ministers heard this, they held the bridle of the prince's horse keeping it in front and told him these cruel words:- "When we told you that it was not the time for battle, and advised you to return, you slighted our words. You must now therefore complete the work you have begun. If you two, father and son, be reconciled with each other, the enemy will be pleased with your conduct, but we, who have suffered in the hope of serving you, shall be ruined. Heated oil remains on the pan, but whatever is thrown between them is instantly burnt. You are our master, we your servants, witness our heroism now. If we win, you gain the kingdom, and if we lose, you return as you came. Wait as long as we fight, when we are killed, do whatever be your duty. If deceived by your father, you reject our advice, we will do violence to your person, and then go away hence." The prince felt frightened at these words of reproach, and sank into a sea of anxiety, and was induced to give battle.

In the meantime when the king saw the Brahmana in that plight, he became angry like Krishna, and prepared himself for battle. The king, who could observe the stars, and whose name was derived from the position of the planet Venus in a lunar mansion, placed himself in a position so as to have the sun behind him, and made arrangements for the protection of his men. The sun shone on his sword from behind as if to assure him of victory, and then descended from the sky. While the king was trying to guess the number of the troops led by his son, those troops appeared before him glittering in the rays of the sun, and illumining the earth with their splendour. And he saw his own troops also, and the armoured and spirited horses moving swiftly in companies. Whom could not the king or his eldest son with the help of his army overthrow, were he Hajyakhana or any other hero? There at *Pallashila* the soldiers met and displayed their various quick manoeuvres, even as dancers show off their different steps on a stage. The army of the king was like a cloud, furnished with weapons like lightnings, and it showered forth arrows with deep and prolonged roar. The men who met one another got mixed; they produced sounds like those of brazen gongs, and

they bore mutual blows making a loud noise. The drums of *Hajyakhana* sounded loudly as if to say "the soldiers are compelling me to battle, do not press me hard." I [the author] saw the Pratthara and others, men of great and of little prowess, but all powerless in this battle, as clouds are powerless to arrest the course of the sun. When the two *Thakkuras*, *Hassana* and *Hossana*, sons of the nurse and well wishers of the king, came out in their wrath from among the king's forces. The Rajputs²⁸ *Suvarna* and *Sihanagra* were struck with weapons, and they sacrificed their handsome persons even as Shri fruits are sacrificed in the smoke of Yajna. Warriors moved to and fro in the presence of their master in that field of battle, ambitious of obtaining fame, even as black-bees roam about in a garden the presence of springs seeking for flowers. Soldier whose heads were lopped off lay in the battle field like morsels of food in a vessel for the hungry Yama. What with the sound of the war trumpet, what with the uproar of men, and what with the lion like shouts of heroes. there was a noise, the like of which was never heard. The king's servants, who had received the king's favours as a debt, now repaid it by casting aside all hopes of their life; and they earned merit and praise by saving the lives of many bewildered people. The sharp arrows of the royal troops fell on the party of the Khana, as if in fear, and seemed to convey to him a friendly hint to save himself. His banner also trembled in the breeze and flew backward, as if seeking shelter behind in fear of the battle. The field of the battle where slaughter took place was like a lotus plant; the severed heads of warriors beaming like lotuses, and the chariots moving like leaves on the water. The king beheld the extraordinary heroism of his son and his army, and when at last the battle was over, he thought that he had obtained a new life. All through the day, while the battle lasted, Hajyakhana was held by force by his servants, and now he turned back from the combat, surrounded by the guards. When the timid elder brother saw his younger yield, he pursued him and killed the soldiers who were overcome by their fear and felt ashamed at their defeat. What, need be said of the cruelty of the elder brother who in his folly even killed

some travellers who were going to a marriage party, in *Surapura*. The king marched in the midst of all his troops to that distant part of the country in the south where the sun shines mildly. They who entrust the duty of ruling the earth to wicked warriors, who depend on their heavy lances, and are fond of horses, who listen to the advice that leads to the mischief of others, and who are not anxious to preserve their religion and caste, like the sons of *Kuru*, do not win in battle.

On the following day *Hajyakhana* collected the remnant of his force, repented of what he had done, and decided to live in the *Chitra*²⁹ country. He consoled some of the men who were in distress, supported others who were broken down, nourished those who were hungry, and spent the night on the summit of a hill. The kind hearted king returned from battle after passing orders that none of his men should harass his son. He had thought to himself that by placing the burden of the kingdom on his son he would obtain rest, and with this view he had entrusted the administration of the country to his kindreds, to the lords of the kingdom who had surrounded themselves with horsemen, and to his principal servants whom he had favoured. But they had all sided with his son, and had come to fight with him to usurp his kingdom. He blamed himself for having cast aside prudence in his kindness, and accused himself as the cause of the mischief. Thus he reflected, and blamed the servants who by the work of Fate had become his enemies, and he returned to his own city in grief. The king caused the heads of the great warriors who had fallen in battle to be brought, and over them he built a beautiful edifice in the town. In this way many warriors lost their lives in battle that year, in the quarrel between the father and the son, owing to the wickedness of the servants. Dissensions among kindred are like a curse, and are as little conducive to the king's happiness as the fall of snow is to the full blown lotuses, or as the dreadful comet, the destroyer of wicked men, is to an ill fated kingdom.

Here ends the first chapter named the *account of the battle of Pallashila*³⁰ of *Jainarajatarangini* composed by Pandita Shrivara.

Owing to the wickedness of the younger son, the strong and pure stream of the king's affection now flowed towards the elder. He now won the affection of the king, enjoyed good fortune, and had his councillors, and shone owing to the absence of the heroic prince from whom much was expected. After a long time the king returned to the capital, and made over to Adamakhana a few of the adherents of his younger brother who were at *Kramarajya*. Adamakhan appropriated all the wealth of *Hajyehaidharakhana* which was in the house, or in villages, or in the temples of gods, even as the submarine fire consumes the water. From that time the elder brother remained at ease in Kashmira, in the presence of the king, as heir-apparent, and spent five years, enjoying the dignity of kings.

Fate augments the happiness of men by increasing the crops, and Fate also brings calamity to them in the shape of famine. The clouds that make the grass grow by rain, also destroy it by the weight of snow. The country was rich in crops, when in the year 66,³¹ in the month of Chaitra, the sky suddenly rained dust. It is well known from the Mahabharata that the year 36 [of a preceding century] had become terrible to all on account of the destruction of the race of Yadu. The leaves and the flowers hung down, grey with dust, as if sorrowing for the people threatened with famine. The chief of the soothsayers was consulted by the king, and he said, that owing to the dust-rain there would be a famine in such a year. The year 36 of the last century was the harbinger of a severe famine, and men feared that the present year 36³² would become like the one that was past. The country was beautified with the shali, when snow fell in the month of Agrahayana and caused distress.

The earth covered her face with snow, as with a white mantle, as if unable to hear the sight of the people's distress. The ripe shali crop which had gladdened the hearts of men was covered with snow, even as men of learning and merit are covered with sandal paste in an assembly of the wicked and the ignorant. The monster famine soon stamped its mark on the country; there were emaciated men distressed for want of food, oppressed with hunger, and with eyes in-flamed. A hungry man, distressed with the thought of what he should eat, entered a house at night, and leaving aside gold and other riches, stole rice from a pot. All day, and even at night, the beggars entered the house where there was rice, one after another, even as arrows enter a body. Some took shells (coin) with them, went to houses where there was grain, and obtained dry cakes with which they sustained their lives; and some died by eating after too long or too shorten interval. Feeble, emaciated men in villages longed to obtain rice which was like nectar to them, but lived on edible leaves, roots, and fruits, as if they had taken some religious vow. Some again supported themselves by cooking rice after a long interval, and by edible leaves. The high price of ghee, salt, and oil was reduced on account of the dearness of rice, as the greatness of good men is detracted by the pride of the low. Those citizens who had been garrulous before about many things now began to talk a great deal about rice only. The Bandhujiva flower, which is like the life of a friend, was neglected even like the akanda, for without rice the people were blind with hunger, and the sight of flower inflicted pain. Formerly one khara of paddy could be had for 300 dinnaras, but owing to the famine, the same khara of paddy could not then be obtained even for 1500. What more need be said ? In some parts of the kingdom the poor people were denied even the gruel of rice. Before this the

people had thought little of the lucious brihi and the shali and it was for this, I think, that they now suffered from this calamity.

Being of a kind disposition, the king became anxious for his people, and after he had fed his distressed subjects for a few months, like his children, with his own rice, a plentiful crop grew, as if on account of the greatness of his heart. A truthful king has not to grieve for a long time. It was the sea, I think, [by not supplying the clouds with water.] that troubled the earth with the calamity of the famine, in order that the king's humanity might be displayed. Thieves delight at the time of anarchy, unchaste women in the hours of darkness, and those who sell grain delight in the time of famine. As the people were oppressed by hunger, precious things were received in exchange for grain; but after the famine the king caused them to be paid for at their proper price. During famine men had eaten up walnuts; so the intelligent king, observing the condition of the people caused oil to be extracted from the pine. Out of humanity he cancelled the deeds on bhurja leaves drawn up between the creditors and the debtors. The sixty-four branches of learning, art, science, and progress, all remained dormant in the distress caused by the famine. For new books exhibiting the play of words and sentences, the arts of singing, music, and dance, and women skilful in the arts of love delight not the hungry.

Here ends the second chapter named *the account of the famine of the year 36 of Jainarajatarangini* composed by Pandita Shrivara.

Fate, like a mad sovereign, can in a moment bestow unusual favour on his subjects when propitious, and inflict untold miseries when unpropitious. Who can understand the caprices of Fate? While the people had not yet forgotten the miseries of the famine of the year 36, they witnessed in the year 38³³ a dust-rain descending on the earth from the sky, and indicating a famine in the future from the failure of shali rice. Not long after, heavy clouds with the rainbow, and peals of loud thunder, terrified the people, even like enemies with their arrows. Bubbles appeared on the water, beaten by, the rain, and seemed like the heads of snakes intent on destroying the crops; and the clouds which, raised the bubbles threatened to destroy all that would grow. Everywhere the rain fell on the leaves of trees, and the sound seemed like the wailing of the trees at the calamity which was about to overtake the people. The Vitastā, the Ledarī, the Sindhu, the Kshiputīkā,¹ and other rivers, seemed to vie with one another, and drowned the villages on their banks in their fury. The waves of those rivers, ran like coursers, swift and tumultuous, and the roar of the whirlpools rose above the waves. The waters then became ungovernable and caused mischief, lowering objects which were high, and lifting up things that were low. Who taught them then to lift the earth from the foot of the hills and to fell trees? They swept away beasts and kine and living beings, as well as houses, grain, and other things, and became terrible as a host of the Mlechchhas. The river Vishokā² caused misery in Madavarājya, and entered Vijayeshvara as if seeking to walk round the shrine, and a line of houses soon fell into the water as if to bathe in the river which flowed eastward, to have their sins removed. The river Vishokā is celebrated in the Purāna as the

¹ Kutha Kul

² Vishav

destroyer of afflictions, but owing to the misfortunes of the people it belied its name. The buildings in the city drowned themselves in the water, as if to avoid the sight of the distress of those who had raised them. The king had built a flaghouse on the Vitastā made of stone and wood, and consisting of four towers, and it served as a bridge to the people who came to visit him from the villages or Darad, even as the four steps of virtue serve to ferry men over hell. But owing to the rush of water over the bank of the river, the portion of the building which was on the side of the town was destroyed, and only the columns remained and the two towers like two legs, as if to call on future kings to complete the other two. In Kramarājya, the Mahānap lake caused sufferings to people by its waves, and its water rushed within Durgapura. The edifices in the town witnessed this from a distance, and apprehended that some other lake had come on a joyous visit to the Padmanāga lake; and they threw themselves into the water, fearing to be beaten down like trees by the waves. The Vitastā, far away from her lord the ocean, was alarmed at this intrusion, turned in her course, and flowed in an opposite direction. Landmarks were submerged, roads were destroyed, and the land was full of water and polluted with mud, even as Kaliyuga is polluted with apprehensions. At the time when Indra thus poured torrents of rain, the king was filled with anxiety, on account of excessive water, and set out in a boat. His soul was full of kindness towards men; and he wandered about and saw the cultivated fields merged under water; and his sorrow made him weak. Embarked on a boat, he saw the place where the milkmen had their quarters, and which was not visible before, so densely was it wooded. Within a few days the ruthless flood subsided, and was dried up as if by the fire of the king's prowess. The people were then soon delighted with the sight of the wealth of ripe shali crop that grew that year, as if through the virtue of their king's charity. And the kind heart of the king of Kashmira became full at the prosperity of the people, even as the sea becomes full at the increase of the

moon's crescent. The virtuous king is like the soul, and the subjects are dear to him as the body. By the increase of the king's happiness the subjects become happy, and by his afflictions they become afflicted.

The king apprehended the recurrence of a similar calamity, and wandered about with a view to build a city on the high banks of the Vitasta near *Jayapidapura*. On an elevated site on the banks of the river he built a town called *Jainatilaka*, which was like an ornament to the earth, and humbled the pride of Alaka. The moonlight rested on the walls of this whitewashed city, as if goddess of the capital lingered there to see the king. The houses in the city looked like Kailasa, as if it had come there in sorrow, for the favour shown by Mahadeva towards Ravana who had uprooted that mountain. The city with its white washed houses seemed to laugh at *Jayapidapura* where the houses and fields were mouldering in decay. The wise who saw the new city remarked that the king in his search for the way into the nether world must have come across the city of Maya the Asura. The beautiful water from the river surrounded the city and flowed by its gate, white as lime, and seemed to laugh at the city of Dvarika in the pride of its beauty. It was here that the king, on the anniversary of his birth day, marked *Jayasimha of Rajapuri*, with the symbol of royalty. The king who loved the Brahmanas was pleased with the services rendered by *Jayasimia*, and as he sat here, he gave *Jayasimha* the charge of the beautiful kingdom of Rajapuri. In this same year the king showered gold in the court-yard of the palace where all the songs of Kashmira and of the Kashya countries were chanted. In the neighbourhood of this city, a servant of the king named Helala killed a mad elephant, and the king built a small town called Helalapura, in order to commemorate the deed.

Within *Jayapidapura*, the king erected a high seat of stone, and he built a beautiful palace by the side of a tank, and having drained off water from the tank which had been submerged by the inundation, the wise king built rows of

houses for royal offices, befitting his palace. Every year, on the day of *Nagayatra*, and during the festivity of *Gantchakra*, the king fed the devotees here for five days. He made tanks here which were filled with wine, cream, and curries, and fed every body. Here also was heard frequently the sound of horns of thousand devotees, which made even the serpents of the Manasa Lake shut their eyes. There was no kind of rice or meat or vegetable or fruit or food with which the king did not feed the people at the time of this feast. Out of his reverence for the devotees the king put up with their indecorous behavior arising from intoxication, which even ordinary men would not have borne. He dressed Mera the chief of the devotees in valuable robes and gave him presents, and marks of honor, and made him like himself in splendour. On the twelfth day of the moon the king dismissed the devotees after having laden them with quilts, attendants, money, and walking staves.

Vethi Truwah

On the thirteenth day of the moon the king wished to see the display of lamps made on the occasion of the worship held on account of the birth of the Vitasta;³⁴ and he embarked on a boat and went to the capital. While on the water he listened to well composed songs, and at the time of embarking and disembarking he accepted the blessings of the citizens. The display of lamps offered by the citizens to the river looked graceful as if the spirits of numberless holy places had come to the Vitasta for adoration. The rows of lamps placed at the ferry on both banks looked beautiful, as if the gods had scattered golden flowers for the worship of the Vitasta. The moon was reflected on the river, but trembled on the water as if overcome by superior beauty, and humbled by the lovely faces of the citizens wives who came to make offerings to the Vitasta and to worship. The king who had curbed the pride of his enemies spent the whole night in the pleasure of listening to songs, even as Gadura spent in feasting on the Gandharbhas.

Where is the place where the rising of the sun is not seen? All men are pleased at the sight of the adorable sun who dwells in the zodiac and is the friend of the virtuous. But his two sons Yama and Shani, unlike their father, bring trouble to men, and are cursed by the people; they have obtained the title of death, and are wicked planets. At this time the wicked *Adamakhana* impelled by envy towards his younger brother, caused much trouble to the whole country. The wicked ministers and leaders of men had become independent of the king and indifferent about the welfare of the kingdom; and *Adamakhana* who was hard hearted like stone, was puffed up by pride but was afraid of his brother. He was fond of women and not of learning; he was addicted to hunting, and amused himself with dogs; and the night was like day to him. What need be said of the meanness of him whose servants, like pedlars, sold in towns, the plumes of birds killed by hawks.

The prince was vain, as being the heir-apparent, and once on a time went to Kramarajya attended by a numerous retinue, in order to secure possession of the country. The oppressed country resounded with the cries of villagers wherever that sinful man passed through, like a dire calamity. Like the course of a dreadful planet, his course was marked by the confiscation of lands which had been previously given away as marks of favour, although the title deeds were clear. The covetous *Adamakhana* plundered the people of their riches in some places by the usual methods, in other places by threat, or craft, or by deceiving them with false hopes, and in some places by force. Like a common man he pretended friendship with the several *Lavanyas*, came to their houses, and out of covetousness, robbed them of their wealth. His servants oppressed timid women, made insulting proposals to them; and as the women refused compliance, they cruelly treated the villagers, and took care to avoid courts of justice. *Adamakhana* was invincible to the people of the kingdom, even like a clever logician, and his shameless servants forcibly entered into houses where there were handsome women; wives, daughters, or daughters-in-

law of citizens, and ravished them. In wine shops, these servants drank in fish pots, and when they became intoxicated, they began to blow the earthen pots like jesters. In their violence, they consumed rice from the barns, got drunk with wine from the casks, and exacted enhanced rents. What more need I tell of their unlawful acts ? At night these wicked men besmeared the villagers with ghee, and made lamps of them at the junctions of roads by placing them in vessels full of oil and setting fire to them; and the flame rose as if in laughter.

The king became distressed on being informed of these heinous acts, and could not leave his house in his sorrow. When the king's messenger's asked the servants of *Adamakhana* not to oppress the people, they replied, "Let the king cry in his illness." When a man oppresses the good and nourishes the wicked, when he hoards riches instead of spending them in gifts and on his own comforts, and when he tyrannises over defence-less villagers without cause, then surely his end is near, and his wealth becomes a curse and a misfortune. *Adamakhana* collected his army at *Kuddadenapura*,³⁵ and came to *Jainanagara* against the king. On that day the king had heard evil reports, and collected his army in fear of his son. The king had constructed a bridge on the *Vitasta*, named *Jainakadali*, with four towers made of stone and wood, and it was the tenth bridge on the way from the *Darad* villages to the city. This same bridge, constructed by himself, now caused alarm to the king, and he apprehended that [his foes might take advantage of it] and thus cause him harm. The king also apprehended commotion within the town and was struck down with fear. With great difficulty and through the council of his advisers, he succeeded in dislodging his son from the city.

The sun's passage towards the north brings heat to the world, and the sun, as if conscious of this, retreats southwards, and thus causes cold. I bow to the sun who thus brings relief to men, and who again moves northward to

remove their sufferings caused by cold. *Adamakhana* reached *Kramarajya*, and the king fearing that his state would be divided into factions wrote a letter with his own hand thus, and sent it to *Hajyakhana*. "O son! Calamities have befallen me which I find it difficult to surmount; my life is in danger, and I have no other help but in you. As soon as you read my letter, sit up at once if you were sleeping, stand up if you were seated, run if you were standing. What more need be said in this matter? If you come without delay, and without minding the trouble which this bad news may cause, truly your desire will be realized in full. But if you do not arrive here speedily while I am yet alive though distracted, there will be no use in your coming to me after I am, dead." Now prince *Adamakhana* had crossed over to *Svayyapura*, and engaged his force in a fierce encounter with the royal army. The contest between the two armies soon became a general confused battle, marked by great ferocity. The battle in this year 35, like that in the year 28, was caused by wicked people; they created enmity between, father and son caused harm to them both. The people of *Darad* and others drowned themselves in the water of the river through fear of *Adamakhana*, and the lake became full of corpses. The three hundred men of *Adamakhana*, fierce as death, slaughtered men in the field that day and then tore up the bridge of boats, and crossed the river. As the king went out of the city he saw citizens in the streets with their feet burnt and suffering from the agony; and he heard them crying and lamenting thus: "Fie to the cruel man who instead of subduing foreign countries oppressed his father's dominion which he should have protected. The vicious *Shikhajada* and others who accepted pay from both father and son and harassed the king are now suffering the punishment of their treachery. The wicked planet Saturn believed himself to be as great a benefactor to men as the matchless sun, and aspired to equal him; but then the peerless sun arose, brightening everything,- and by his greatness destroyed those whose ways were tortuous. *Adamakhana* has been deserted by his wicked followers

who have brought misery on their country and destruction on the people, and he has also been deserted by fortune and prosperity. The people survive other calamities like excessive rain or drought, or the destruction of crops by mice, locusts, or birds; or even a foreign invasion; but let not the king have sons bent on destruction or divided by mutual enmity; or if he has only one son, let it not be a wicked son who causes misery. The two sons of the king, cruel destroyers of the people, were to him even as the rising of the Saturn and Yama is to the sun. Where can such another king be found, lenient even to those who caused trouble, forgiving to fallen enemies and liberal in the appreciation of merit? It is owing to our misfortune that the king was put to trouble by his wicked son." When the king went to *Svavyapura* he heard villagers on the road censuring his son for the slaughter of men, saying: When the king saw the birth of his son, he felt happy, for he thought that his son would bear the burden of the kingdom; and the king raised him to prosperity out of his affection, even against the dictates of policy. But the king now knows his son to be as powerful as himself, and fears him, and though surrounded by joys, he can never sleep on account of his anxiety. There was a great slaughter of men owing to the animosity between brothers, and king" –Alishah was bound and killed by the son of Mallika. Similarly what calamity has befallen king Jaina, out of the jealousy of his sons? Let not many sons, the destroyers of the country, be born therefore in a king's house!"

The armies of the father and son were now encamped on either bank of the Vitasta; they were now near each other and each was eager to overcome the other. In the meantime Hajyakhana who had reached *Parnotsa* without delay, approached, like Gundura, the neighbourhood of the Sadvarna country. When the king heard of the arrival of the prince with his army at the outskirts of *Varahamula*, he sent *Vahramakhana* to greet him. Hajyakhana, who was expecting him, greeted and embraced his youngest brother, who was gratified with the reception. On the following day,

when Adamakhana found that his younger brother was welcomed by his father, he retired in fear, deserted by his guards; and he arrived with his army and distressed follower in the country of Sindhu by the way of Shahibhanga after crossing the Sindhu river. Thus in the year 33, the happy king expelled his eldest son by his wisdom and entered the capital, joined by Hajyakhana.

The bee which has spent the long winter in a hollow in the ground overpowered with grief, comes out in the spring season with trembling wings to the garden bright with blooming creepers, and roams about in joy, fond of the young sprout. Even so after a long time, Hajyakhana now obtained from his Janaka like father the rank of heir-apparent which he had once held. He obtained his father's love which was as a bright jewel, and in his affection towards him, he never cast it away, even as Krishna never cast away the *Kaustuva* gem. He was of fair complexion, spirited, and courteous to all, and he bent down in humility, sitting behind gods and elders. He was graceful as the letter Ha which bends itself, as if in humility, after the god-like letters which precede. It is a good alphabet of the Ushna group, even as he was of good and bright complexion; and the last of all the alphabets. There was not a shrine where the king went, not a journey which he undertook, not a festive performance which he attended in which he was not accompanied by Hajyakhana. What man does not admire Mahadeva, who is attended by his two sons, the benefactor of the universe, who is in the enjoyment of pleasures, and is surrounded by hundreds of spirits beaming in the excess of their devotion, who spends his time in listening to hymns accompanied with dances, and who is the object of adoration, the possessor of superhuman power, and the dweller of Kaillasa?

Here ends the third chapter of *Jainarajatarangini*, entitled the account of the *banishment of Adamakhana and alliance with Hajyakhana*.

In the meantime, Spring, the friend of Cupid, passed away. What the moon is to lustful kumuda flowers, what the sun, the dispeller of darkness which is like woman's anger, is to blooming creepers, what the beauty of budding youth is to women, that is Spring to Cupid. At the Chaitra festival,³⁶ the king embarked on a boat, accompanied by his son, and with a view to enjoy the sport of flowers he went to Madavarajya. The line of the king's boats on the Vitasta looked like the row of Indra's charriots on the milky way. He started from Avantipura, and stopped at royal palaces at *Vijayesha* and other places in order to witness dancing. The king was a part of Mahadeva, and his courtiers who attended on him were like Cupid who had multiplied into many persons in order to overcome him. The spectators and the singers knew literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, and appreciated merit. Young women, proficient in music, possessed of sweet voice, and with a genuine ardour for song, graced the place. The men were learned and dignified, and fond of enjoyment; and they displayed their taste and their intelligence on the stage. The renowned *Tara* and the actors sang various songs to the *naracha* tune, and to every kind of music. And the songstress *Utsava* who was even like Cupid's arrow, charming to the eye and proficient in dance, both swift and slow, entranced every body. The actresses, who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like the ascending and descending notes of music personified. As they danced and sang, the eye and the ear of the audience seemed to contend for the keenest enjoyment. The scene was indeed beautiful, the songs of the actresses were like the voice of the *kokila*, the stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of the *champaka* flower, and around them were men intoxicated with wine, like bees around flowers. Rows of lamps surrounded the king, as if the gods pleased with his government had come to witness the dance, and had thrown a garland of golden lotuses round him. In some places, the

rows of lamps were reflected on the water, as if Varuna had out of favour towards the king illumined his court with lights from the Naga world; and the lines of lamps shone like jewels on the heads of the Nagas who had come to witness the dance. Those who were at a distance doubted if the lights were really lamps, or the spirits of former kings assembled to view the present sovereign, or stars and the moon descended from the sky to attend on the king, or the spirits of holy men who had attained emancipation, or if they were the great gods assembled there in their grace and beauty. The spectators seemed to view Indra himself in the king; the poets and panditas beside the king were like demigods, his servants were like the attendant gods, and the yogis around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation; the actresses were like apsaras whose charms were heightened by their emotions, the singers were the Gandharvas, and the stage was heaven itself.

Fireworks of various colors made by the mixture of charcoal powder, sulphur, and saltpetre pleased the men. Tubes were filled with saltpetre, and the thick sparks of fire which issued out of them looked like a creeper of gold; and the spectators were filled with fear and wonder on beholding a flame issuing out of water like a serpent. From the tubes rose balls of fire to the sky, beautiful as silver, and looked like the planets Jupiter and Venus. A tube filled with saltpetre was tied to a string; it went off to a distance like a flame, and when pulled, it returned in flames. Such flames shot from the king and returned to him like bright shooting stars; and the spectators fixed their eyes on them in wonder and joy. These flaming tubes of saltpetre were hold by the actresses in their hands, and they shone like golden stars of beautiful colors, falling from heaven.

The king was skilful in manufacturing fireworks, and he instructed *Hibhebha* to display them. It was difficult to obtain powder before, but the king showed how it could be manufactured, and so it became easily procurable. He gave his instructions to Habhebha in the Parsi (Persian) language, in the form of questions and answers, and many others

began to write books after this example. Where can now be found one like king Jaina in the greatness of intellect or in the art of invention, in fondness for song and music, or in capacity for rhetorical discussion, in writing books, in listening to holy shastras, or in composing new works?

Sujya, the pupil of *Abdolkadara*, was possessed of all accomplishments and he pleased the heart of the king by his proficiency in music. One *Mallaja laka* came from *Khuruasana* and received inestimable favours from the king by playing on a lute made of tortoise shell. Another named *Mallajyamala* a singer in the *mlechchha* language, pleased the king even as *Narada* pleases *Indra*. I, who am versed in all kinds of songs and who hold a lute made of gourd, displayed my skill in exhibiting a part of a new song of infinite variety; and *Jipharana* and others sang with me the difficult *Turushka* metres before the king. We sang songs in twelve different modes, in the court, and as the sound arose from the string, the voices accorded with it harmoniously, as if in joy. *Pandita Utthasoma*³⁷ versed in vernacular and *Sanskrita* literature, composed a life of *Jaina* in the vernacular, and approached the king. **Yodhabhatta** a poet in the vernacular language, composed a drama, pure like a mirror, called the *Jainaprakasha*, in which he gave an account of the king. **Bhattavatara** who had perused the *Shahnama*, vast as the sea, composed a work named *Jainavilasa*, as the counterpart of the king's "Instructions." The king was pleased, and caused the lute, the gourd instrument, the *ravana*, and all other instruments of music to be set with gold, silver, and jewels, and they looked very handsome. When the people saw the stage effulgent with decorations and beheld the play distinguished by the excellence of sense, gestures, and feelings, they called the stage a four faced god. Thus it was that the king who was possessed of the three cardinal virtues, whose fame was spread over the three worlds, and who like the gods was subject only to three stages of life [not to old age], spent the three watches of the night in witnessing the three kinds of dance.

The king repaired to a house bedecked with jasmine flowers, and full of merriment and laughter, even as a full moon appears in the sky bedecked with stars; and he began to drink from stainless vessels, attended by his son and friends. The respectful *Hajyakhana* filled with the love of his father, as with amrita, extolled him thus, under the pretence of describing the spring. "Like an expert actor, Spring the king of the seasons teaches the humming black bee the art to sing, and instructs the breeze the art to make the creepers dance. O! king, who appreciates song, has the Spring come to serve thee? The beauty of the stars is destroyed by clouds cooping the sky, and during the day they are invisible; and even moon waxes and wanes. Humbled by such mishaps, the stars have come to serve thee O! Lord of men, in the shape of flowers in the garden. May the flood which fills the country with mud, annoys the people in the midst of their ease, and destroys roads, remain confined to the basins of the lakes and beautify thy country. The floods are disappearing through thy power at this pleasant time of spring, this season of pleasure, even like a city of snow at the rising of the sun." When the king heard this he was glad, and gave *Hajyakhana* a matchless dagger of gold. The king bestowed lands in the *Ghosa*³⁸ country on those who served the prince. These servants had once been reprimanded, but now they received silken clothes the emblem of favour, even as men who falling into the waves of the *Sindhu* are ferried across in a boat. The king shed tears of joy for having got back his son; and showered gold on the learned, the singers, and the servants. He paid the travelling expenses of his subjects who came to witness the performance, and they were made happy by being honored and clothed in silk. King *Jaina* saw the houses and gardens, beheld his boat filled with flowers, and after praising the inhabitants of *Madavarajya*, reached his own capital.

Here ends the fourth chapter entitled *the account of the festivity of flowers, of Jainarajatarangini*.

The king had his son by him and was at ease, and being disposed to do good work, engaged himself in excavating new canals and consecrating them. I have not described those works of which the poet Shri Jonaraja has written in his book through fear of enlarging my work. Surely there is but one city about the construction of which nothing is known. That city is Amaivati, but the gods live not there, but wander about in aerial chariots. This king has built hundreds of new cities where the Brahmanas live with dignity, and are like Indra on earth. In Shri Jainanagara, a new lofty palace was built in the year 15 on the *Devagaha* [hill³⁹?]; the king built a new palace near it of bricks and wood, in the year 40; and the top of the palace was adorned by a bright and beauteous golden dome, like a lotus thrown down by the renowned Indra. Men were employed at the gate of the palace, serving in various ways according to the directions of the king. The king left his capital and lived here till the end of his life. The swans in the lakes of this place drew near the singers as they sang, attracted by the sweetness of their voice, and seemed to praise their song by their twitter. It was here that the king, now that his foes had been quelled, enjoyed, like Indra, the pleasant songs of the singers all day long. Within his palace was the audience hall adorned with the three cornered throne, and wide spacious walls lined with glass; and here were many columns of victory in the palace, and here the breezes blew pleasantly in the morning.

Once when he had gone to visit the fort of Lohara, he repaired a dilapidated palace and made it new. He built many villages shaded by trees, along the margin of the *Mahopadma* lake, from *Samudrikota*⁴⁰ to Shri Dvaraka, and marked with the name of Jaina, and there were many houses, beautiful like the palace of Indra. At Tripureshvara, the king fed the beggars with rice, until

their stomachs were full, and it was thus that the king who was abstemious became like Ganesha. At Varahakshetra,⁴¹ the king held his feast of rice, and the head of Ananta was bent with the weight of rice, and Indra's head was also bent down in shame. At the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu, he daily fed small fishes with rice, and afforded them protection. It was at the request of the mendicants whom he fed that the king planted trees at Shri Shahkarapura which gave shade but bore no fruits. At Ashrama, the king held the feast of rice, until flavour of the curries overcame the scent of the saffron. The inhabitants of *Vijayeshvara* were continuously fed with rice, and they became full, until it became difficult for them to bow to the king. After the king had fed the people with rice, he loaded the wayfarers with food at the toll bar on the road to Surapura. There was no man in Kashmira who was not fed with the king's rice, be he learned or dunce, wicked or good, a Yavana or a twice-born. Mahadeva, Narayana, Brahma, Jahnumuni, and Bhagiratha of the solar line, had laboured before, and by their united efforts, the Ganges descended in earth, and their selfish object was fulfilled. But this king, guided by his own intelligence, excavated many rivers (canals) in the country, for the benefit of others, and led them by diverse courses. Everywhere were seen houses high as hills, and full of rice lately grown on extensive fields. These granaries were indeed like the breasts of the earth from which the people derived their nourishment and thrive day by day. Like Samuyya, the king grew crops in places where lands could be obtained with difficulty, or where they seldom yielded crop's before on account of calamities. There was not a piece of land, not a lawn, not a region, and not a forest where the king did not excavate a canal, and where he did not build houses marked with his name. There was not a river, not a field, not a village, not a town, not a piece of land which the king did not mark with the name of Jaina. Wherever the ground was low, the king

caused a tank to be formed by means of canals, and it was adorned with birds, lotuses, and water nuts. Praise is due to cloud which benefits the earth with water which it lifts from the sea where the water lies useless, and showers it upon fields; such showers make the grains grow, and men, whose wealth is grain, are made happy.

Dal Lake

In this country there is an unfathomable lake known as the *Dala*, a brief account of which will be given. There the large lake of Sureshvari⁴² extends to the capital, and the king went over it every day in a boat, even as the moon travels over the clear sky. The king's boat adorned with fluttering banner, floated on the water like a young bird, with its" oars which were like wings, and was manned by-crew who understood the weather. The river Tilaprastha⁴³ issuing from Tripureshvara,⁴⁴ joins the Satanka at this place, as if anxious to visit Lanka where the hill of Shri, extending over six kroshas, meets the river and bathes in its water day and night, as if wishing to obtain the merit of bathing in a shrine. There reflected in the water, trees look like mosses, hills like tortoises, and towns seem like the realms of the Nagas. There the waving shali crop stands on the ground, and bends down as if to smell the perfume of the lotus. There Lanka⁴⁵ is situated, and the sun courses north and south to view this town and the other Lanka in the south. On the side of this lake stands the shrine of *Sureshvari*, adorned with many holy spots, affording both enjoyment and salvation, and outshining Varanasi. The king made this place seem like heaven by adorning it with Viharas, and villages given to Brahmanas, with monasteries which help in the performance of pious acts, and with hermitages where the inmates have not to labour. There the people saw from a distance well nourished and agreeable siddhas with long four stringed beads in their hands. The palace of the king was named *Siddhapuri*, and was constructed like rows of chariots of

the siddhas, so as to be true to its name. Within the palace, the king repaired the delapidated temples by props, or rebuilt them. He made floating islands fruitful by depositing grass and earth on them. When the hermits of the Shri Jaina monastery celebrated the worship of vessels, the king forgot his high rank and helped them in their worship. There the moon was reflected in the Yogichakra in the middle tank, as if he came there to drink its sweet water. The king fed thousands of hermits, until they closed their eyes in peace and joy and perfect repose. The renowned queen Shri gratified the people there with food and feasted them. The rice prepared and heaped for the feast looked like a white elephant or the white cloud of autumn which is mistaken for talc. There was heard the sound of horn and hunting, mixed with the cries of the cranes, and the sound indicated the death of the forest deer, like the destruction of sins. The king rejoiced to see the sinless hermits feasting on savoury cakes until they were satiated; and the curd which they quaffed with their busy fingers was strewn on their seats, and looked like the crescent of the moon melted by the power of their Yoga.

The Mar Canal

The river Mari flowed from this place into the Vitasta, and was used by the citizens for the purposes of drinking and bathing; and the king joined it at *Hastikarna* with Shali canal which was extended to the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu. This junction of the Mari with the Vitasta is known in the city as the confluence,⁴⁶ and is used for the cremation of the dead, and it is the way to heaven. Previously, the owners of the land, the servants of the king, and the *Panchavarikas* used to levy a rate at this place every day from the citizens for the cremation of the dead. When my father died, I informed the king of the tax, and the king punished the Kiratas and abolished the rate on the cremation of the dead. From that time the common people on their death are cremated on that spot, to the

grief of the mlechchhas who are averse to witness cremation. The bhurjja makers [who burn the dead] danced with their umbrellas, and played on musical instruments on this exemption from the tax. Here, according to the custom of distant countries, females immolated themselves in the pyres of their beloved; and were not forbidden by the king.

It was for the benefit of the poor of the city that the virtuous king built an extensive *Vihara* on the bank of the river, near the Mari confluence. This *Vihara*, and the one on the opposite side of the river at *Hajya* were like the centre jewels amidst the jewel-like houses of the two cities. The king was then at peace with others, and he built other buildings.⁴⁷

When Shriharsha became king in the realm of poetry, every one became a poet. What more need be said? Even women, cooks, and porters were poets; and the books composed by them exist to this day in every house. If the king be a sea of learning, and partial to merit, the people too become so. The meritorious king, for the purpose of earning merit, built extensive lodging houses for students, and the voice of the students studying logic and grammar arose from these houses. The king helped the students by providing teachers, books, houses, food and money; and he extended the limits of learning in all its branches. He was a shelter for all, and belied the saying of Munis that learning and pleasure, like light and darkness, cannot exist together. He made the country happy by his good government, favoured learning, and desired to promote the prosperity of the country as of his own son. He esteemed learned men, and valued them for their merits above all the various productions of his country. Even the families, which never dreamt of learning, produced men, who through the favour of the king, became known for their erudition. learning, like the kalpa plant, shot into many branches, thrived by means of scholarships, and

bore heavenly fruits. There was not a branch of learning or arts or literature or fine arts which did not become celebrated in the world during the reign of king Shri Jaina. Feudatory kings saw that the king befriended merit and respected learning, and they diligently applied themselves to it.

The heat of the earth consumes much of the grass and shrubs in the summer season, but the pleasant rainy season revives them. Thus in times past, king *Shekandhara* had, through the influence of the *Yavanas*, burnt all books of learning, even as fire burns grass. At that time all learned men had fled precipitately to distant countries, owing to the oppression of the *Mausulas*,⁴⁸ taking their books with them. What more need be said? There were the Brahmanas in the country, but all their excellent books were known only in name, as lotuses are at the advent of winter. But the king who now graces the land and is dear to the learned, restored the books, even as the spring revives the black bees. He caused the Puranas, books on logic, the *Mauulas*, and other books to be brought from distant lands, and distributed them to the learned. The king heard me recite the **Vashishta Brahmadarshana** composed by **Valmiki** which is known as the way to salvation ; and when he heard the annotations pervaded by a feeling of tranquility, he remembered them even in his dreams, even as a lover remembers the gestures of his beloved. Holding that a man can receive instruction only in the language which he knows, and not in Other languages, the king caused translations of the various shastras to be made by those who knew Sanskrita, the vernaculars, and the Persian. Even the *Yavanas* can comprehend minorology, chemistry, and kalpa if studied in their own language. The king caused *Dashavaitara* and *Rajatarangini* the book of kings, in the Sanskrita language, to be rendered into Persian. In the same way the mlechchhas read the

Vrihatkathasara, the *Hatakesvara Samhita*, the *Puranas*, and other books in their own language.

One hears after a long time the pure and beautiful Dharmashastra recited, and holds it to his heart, even as a white cloth holds the impression of colors, and acts according to its injunctions. Others again hear it every day but receive no impression, at the leaf of a lotus plant, though growing in the current and held fast to the water by the stock, never becomes wet by water. The king heard of the advantages of going on pilgrimage to *Naubandhana*⁴⁹ hill from the *Adipurana* and felt a desire to undertake a journey sometime to a shrine: The king was bent on going to pilgrimage, and he went to *Vijayeshvara* in the year 39, on the last day of the fortnight fixed for giving offerings to deceased ancestors. He saw the ground full of spectators, clad in cloths of many colors, even like a garden full of flowers. Vandarapaila and other chiefs with their armies were glad to see the king. The sky was beautified by Venus and Mercury, and was full of other stars by night, and the ground was graced by poets and learned men, and shone with rows of lamps, so that the sky and the earth vied with each other. The pleasant earth was lighted on the day of the dark moon by the moon-like faces of the hundreds of citizens who had assembled. There a tree of lamps was borne by a man and it looked like the Pleiades risen in the midst of the stars. The king accompanied by his two sons left *Vijayeshvara*, and reached *Durmarga* on foot in three days. Wearing a noble appearance in his piety, he saw Vishnu's foot mark at the *Krama* lake, and felt the joy of bowing at the feet of Vishnu. The water from the hills of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Mahadeva* seemed by their sound to enquire after the welfare of the king who was a part of *Mahadeva*. The great king saw the hill and the land darkened by the flowers of the *kasturi*, and was rejoiced like anchorites when they view the longed for person of *Narayana*. He then

embarked on a boat surrounded by five or six boat men, and went about in the lake supporting himself on me and Simhabhatta. From me he heard the songs of *Gita Govinda*, and then arose in his mind a feeling of piety towards Govinda. The sweet sound of our songs was echoed from the groves, as if celestial musicians sang after me from the groves in honor of the king. After he had wandered about on the lake for sometime, snow began to fall, as if the gods, pleased with his piety, showered flowers on him. The encircling snow on the lake might well be mistaken for a portion of the peak of the Kailasa hill which one attains by bathing at the holy shrine. Truly the king was an incarnation of Vishnu, and he thrice walked round the lake out of piety, and also to test his power of walking. Then when the boat was fastened to the *Naubandhana* hill, the hill became what its name implies, and the king saw the hill and went to it. When journeying to the Sukumara⁵⁰ lake, the king drank of the water of that lake and meditated on the Sukuniava shrine, and he felt a delight as if he had obtained the purity of his soul. The king heard the names of holy places, touched the auspicious waters from the shrines, tasted the cool water, saw the beauty of the forest trees, and scented the perfumes of plants and flowers, and thus performed the pilgrimage that gives pleasure to the five senses, and then returned to his capital.

Here ends the fifth chapter, named *the account of the pilgrimage to Krama lake, of Jainarajatarangini*.

In order to satisfy his longing for the Krama Lake, the king caused a new lake, like the Krama lake, to be excavated within *Padmapura*, and called it the *Jaina lake*.⁵¹ It was the time of autumn when the land was darkened by the full blown flower of saffron, and it seemed as if the dark water of the Yamuna had come to join this lake in gladness. The king who was rich as the god of wealth, built a beautiful palace on its bank and called it *Kuloddharana naga*. Like the moon placed on high, he was pure and full of grace. His kingdom lacked nothing, and his learning was without any deficiency, and he removed all sorrow from the minds of his people. Where is the man even if he were foreigner from a distant land, who could see such a king and not wish to serve him? Kings of distant countries heard of his great attainments and showered presents on him. The king of Panchanada⁵² sent him, on account of his friendship, his own horse named Tajika great in six and surpassing the wind in swiftness. The horse-faced singer of heaven is celebrated for his voice, but does not know how to dance, and the king's horse remembering this, proudly danced on the road when the king rode him. The horse's mane was like the coral hands of the king, and his bridle was like the rays beaming from the king, and the bit of the bridle was to the horse even as enjoyment was to the king. Possessed of auspicious signs, the horse considered himself as great as the king and needed no chastisement. Its four legs were adorned with gold as well as its mouth, and so it was known by the name of the five good omens. Khalashya,⁵³ the king of Mandivyagauda, gratified the monarch with presents of clothes named *Darandama*; and the monarch, saintly Yudhishtira, sent to Khalashya, among other things, a **beautiful poem**

composed by himself in his own language.⁵⁴ Khalashya was not so gratified with the invaluable presents sent to him as with the poem ornate and beautiful in its arrangement of words and meanings. The king of *Kumbha* presented to the monarch a cloth named **Nari kunjara** and gratified the heart of his excellent queen. *Tugaraseha*, the beloved king of *Gopilapura*,⁵⁵ presented to the monarch, for the festival of music, a book named *Sangitachudamani*, comprising rules of singing, of fine arts and acting, and also containing the best songs. When that king *Tugaraseha* died, his fame was as widely extended as the sea, and his son retained, like his father, the good will of the monarch by sending him presents. The lord of *Mandalika*, who was the superintendent of the capital, was pleased with the monarch and sent him a handsome horse, and also muchukunda birds beautiful in the variety of their colors and charming in their eyes. *Valluka*,⁵⁶ the king of *Dilli*, though blood thirsty and restless in his work of destruction, was nevertheless bound to the monarch like a tame deer on account of his virtue. Some one presented this great monarch with a pair of swans, and other swans were born of them, and the mighty monarch was pleased. They floated in a line on the lake without fear, and looked like white lotuses agitated by the waves. The king of *Khurasana* was the lord of horses; his order was held on the head by the kings of the countries around, like a garland of mandira flowers; his servants were armed with fearful weapons, and they shook hands with the god of death, and roamed about in the world. This king of the north,⁵⁷ named *Merjjabho-Saida*, sent an accomplished messenger to the monarch with high horses and mules. *Mahammada Suratrana*,⁵⁸ king of *Gurjara*, gratified the monarch with presents of textile fabrics celebrated by the names of *kateha*, *sohasa*, and *glata*. The kings of *Gilana*,⁵⁹ *Mesra*, *Makka*, and other places sought to

benefit themselves by sending various rare presents to the monarch. Who did not seek to please the monarch, and what artists, possessed of great designs in art, did not come from distant countries, like bees, to the monarch who was almost like the kalpa tree? It was then that the people of Kashmira learnt the use of the weaver's brush and loom, and today they are weaving valuable cloths of silk. The woollen fabrics called *soha*⁶⁰ and others, manufactured in foreign countries and those made in Kashmira today, are both beautiful, but the latter are strong and fit for kings. Other clothes were made, on which variegated plants were produced of various methods of weaving, which painters saw and remained dumb with wonder. The monarch's kingdom, known by the name of *Kausheyaka*, and his dress of silk, alike became famous, the former on account of the various" tribes of people that inhabited it, and the latter for the various colored threads that it contained. By his own intelligence, the king invested his country and his dress with a peculiar beauty: the country graced by its people of various tribes, its capital town, by its decorations, and by its learning and its dignity; and the dress was beautified by many circular designs, and by designs of Durga and of men. The country was excellent and unconquerable, the dress was celebrated for its silk and gracefulness, both delighted him and both were of incomparable worth. The silk was glittering, and the country was brightened by festivities; in the silk there was a good collection of threads, in the kingdom there were good laws and riches.

Here ends the sixth chapter named the account of *the development of the art of color* and of *the description of art, of Jainarajatarangini*.

If the king be liberal, the people display their song and dance; if the clouds pour water in the rainy season, the chataka birds dance with joy and become pleasing to men. At this time there came to the king, who was renowned for his gifts, a Yavana from Uttarapatha,⁶¹ he knew the art of walking over a rope, and the king, accompanied by his family, came on one occasion to *Vimshar prastha* to see this feat. The man made himself ready to display his art, and stretched a long rope on two high pillars that stood at an interval of one hundred bows. The elephants which were at *Rajupura* remained pensive as if apprehensive of the mischief that would befall their beloved king. Then by a rope fixed to the ground the fearless man ascended like a bird into the air. This master of his art did not fall, but moved with wonderful steps on the rope, and the mind of men was pleased, even as by a poem. Like a planet he moved on high and successfully walked over the rope to the wonder of the people.

Fate had for a long time showered blessings on the people; he now inflicted an insupportable calamity on the country; even as clouds rain for the benefit of agriculture and then rob its fruits by hail. At a time when there was no cause left to disturb the king, the people suddenly saw signs of a severe calamity to the country which had hitherto been happy under good government. A comet was seen at night in the north; it is the cause of the destruction of men, even as excessive rain is of embankments. Its long tail was of resplendent beauty, and surely Yama hurled down his axes in the form of the comet for the destruction of kings. For a period of two months the comet was visible in the clear sky, and the kind heart of the king remained anxious through fear of mischief that might happen. The dogs were always heard to bark in the city during day time, as if they foresaw a calamity, and howled in grief. An eclipse of the moon and of the sun took place within a

fortnight, as if meant to upset the king and thereby to destroy the kingdom in which there had hitherto been no division. The passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac to another occurred on inauspicious days, and men were alarmed, and apprehended some agricultural disaster. The hooting of owl was heard under "the umbrella", as if the metropolis of the kingdom bemoaned and enquired if its builder was about to perish. On the second day of the moon that luminary was seen with its face upwards in the sky, as if it prognosticated the advent of another king.

In the meantime there happened a terrible drought in another country such as brings on a famine; and the beggars of that country came, like embodied sprites, into Kashmira. The king saw them and made enquiries of them, whereupon they informed him thus: "In many countries, and in all directions, the time of distress has come, like the all destroying Yama, on account of drought. Precious stones have lost their value on account of this famine, even as good -men, who could be of service to all, lose their usefulness through the influence of evil men. Oppressed by hunger, the dogs have devoured the dead in their tenantless houses, and are now preying on one another; and good Brahmanas, O! King! who used to perform penances for taking food touched or eaten by others, are now eating every thing owing to hunger. Brahmana women, who could judge as to what food is acceptable and what is not, have in some places killed themselves and others by means of poisoned rice. Some people have left their homes and some have died on account of the drought, so that a tenantless town or village can be seen at every step. Merjabhosaida the Sulatana, king of Khurasana, your friend, marched out of his country for want of food surrounded by one koli of soldiers, and forcibly entered the country of his enemy ; but the king of Iraka⁶² captured him in the midst of a battle and killed him. At the time of his capture, and even when bound, he displayed valor like Duryyodhana, and innumerable Turushka died. The time of distress has come in other countries, and owing to the

destruction of the weak in mutual conflict among kings, there are dangers O! King! at every step. We have heard O! King! of thy country happy in wealth, in its store of food and other things, and we have come sorely oppressed with hunger,- now save! Us". When the king heard this pitiable news, he felt as if the calamity had befallen his own subjects, and moved by kindness, he gave them many things.

In the meantime, the great Svayyapura,⁶³ built by hermits, spontaneously took fire, and became like a deserted forest. The great records of Kramarijya that were kept in this place on bhurja leaves were all reduced to ashes, together with the cases that contained them. At this place the king had caused an edict to be inscribed on a copper plate to the effect that at this shrine of Jainagiri, future kings should take one seventh of the crop that grew as tribute. It ran thus: "Shri Jainallabadina begs future kings to take one seventh of the produce of the land which he by his money has cleared and brought under cultivation at Jainagiri. He has descended into water and ascended hills in-order to build this high place which is like the banner of virtue, and which they by their good will should enlarge." These happy sentences were inscribed by Srivakashisha on a copper plate which was not destroyed by the fire, neither did the fire destroy the palace though it was in the midst of the flame that rose high even like the virtue of the king. When the wise king heard that the town was burnt, his heart was burnt with sorrow, but he rebuilt it without delay, new and beautiful, with houses made of wood. The king had previously built a palace at *Varahamula*, but he caused the materials to be brought from that place, and built a new large one here. There was in it a room for keeping the records of the kingdom. A swinging bridge was also newly constructed, and it looked like the necklace of the goddess of fortune which presided over Kramarajya. Thus was the beauteous svayyapura built. There was the swinging bridge with the rows of houses like jewels, and in the midst of them the palace displayed its umbrella and

looked beautiful like the jewel that hangs in the centre of a necklace. The multitude of men lived happily here, as creepers do at the advent of the pleasant season of spring in a new forest; and their friends, like so many flowers, stayed with them for a few days and then retired well pleased. What new fledged birds are to other birds, so are kindred's to men; they live with them for a time, but when they can depart with ease they go away, to the regret of their friends.

Meanwhile the king's beloved queen named *Vodhakhatona*⁶⁴ died. She was to the family of the Saidas what the moon light is to the sea. It was by union with her that the king had thought his life happy, and now by her separation his body became burnt with sorrow and all things appeared to him as nothing. The moon-like king, the defender of himself, had placed his sister's son *Kyamudena* in the post of *Sultana* in the country of *Sindhu*. He was graced with every virtue and was loved by the king as his own son, and was dearer to him than his own life. The king heard that this chief of *Sindhu* was killed in a battle by *Evvarahima*. He was to the king a joy in times of pleasure and a solace in those of affliction, and by his death the king felt as if his own right hand had been cut off. On account of the death of *Darpavakhana* and others, a new body of ministers was formed, but they, with their boon companions, were ministers only in name. At this time died also the proud, and liberal *Merakhushahmada* who had obtained the king's friendship by working for him. The king received some; bad news every day and saw his subjects harassed by the mutual enmity among his sons, and he became sunk in Anxiety. He thought of his relatives and servants and friends who had passed away, and believed himself as it were like an elephant that had strayed from the herd.

In the meantime prince *Hajyakhana* suffered from a disease brought on by excessive drinking. He was-heroic and noble; and as the king was excessively fond of him, his

illness nearly dried up in the king's heart all the pleasures that he derived from his kingdom, even as a plant is dried up in a garden by fire. He caused his son to be brought before him, and saw him ill and much reduced, and out of affection thus addressed him in the presence of his ministers:

O son! You, who are addicted to an evil habit, have reaped the fruit of drinking. Even like the moon, you -have got the disease which wastes you. Have you no friendly servant who looks to your interest as your protector, who gives good advice to you who are addicted to the sin of drinking? What wonderful enjoyments are there within your reach even to this day? But why should you then, like an in-; sect, be attached to one pleasure only when life affords to you others which are not accessible to other men? If you think that there is nothing better than wine, then you are a very vicious man indeed, and it will be of no use telling you of the ancient heretic kings. Mighty kings, who were to their powerful enemies even as the wind is to cotton, are known to have been destroyed by wine. Think of this. Malleka Jamrati who took possession of a kingdom knew of the sin of drinking wine, but he was wise and kept himself aloof from it. His son Shahimasoda began to drink at sports and pastimes after his father's death and lost every thing. The great city of the "Malleka", rich with the seven requisites of royal power, has now become a thing of the past, owing to the evil habits of the wicked son, and is even like a corpse with seven members. Wine is red in the cup, and by its color I take it to be the heart's blood of him who drinks it. There is no enemy to the living like wine which is taken as beneficial; for when taken in excess it kills. Men drunk with the maireya wine will commit deeds which even a madman will not do, for, even he shrinks from such acts. The sprite in the shape of wine enters the body of the man who drinks and in a moment destroys his life while he is weeping or laughing. O Son! You have come to your present condition by taking wine which is poison; now save your life, and give up this hateful wine from today. You are foolish and addicted to evil habits, but if you do not give up wine without delay, you will be deserted by your good fortune, and your life will be short.

When the prince heard these very commendable words of his father, he replied that he would drink wine no more without the king's orders. The king saw his son lusterless, weak, emaciated, and devoid of affection, even like a lamp with a thin wick and without oil, and he was surrounded by the darkness of despair. The word of advice is dear to those who are fortunate, but those whose adversity is nigh repent because they did not follow the advice in time. The prince began to drink the poison as soon as he went home, though he was bound by promise to abstain from it. Advice is useless to those who become blind by addiction to a vice. The ministers feared that the king doted on him, and sent secret letters to bring Adamakhana from a distant country. Alarmed at the approach of the younger brother, the elder had on one occasion set out to meet him, but now alarmed at the approach of the elder brother the younger started from the country. When Adamakhana arrived, the king remained indifferent, determining, as before, not to be troubled by the quarrels between his two sons. When the son of Hajyakhana heard of the arrival of his father's brother he left Parnotsa with a view to fight with his uncle, and reached *Rajapuri*. When the uncle arrived in Kashmira, a terrible battle took place between him and his nephew for the capture of the fort of Andarkota. At this time the people witnessed the patience of the powerful *Hasanakhana*; for though anxious for the country, he did not march out without the orders of his grandfather.

When the eldest brother entered the house of his father he saw *Hajyakhana* at the door joined by the youngest brother, and out of policy made peace with him. But though they had sworn peace by the God of the Mausulas,⁶⁵ their hearts were not freed from enmity, even as a silk cloth does not give up its color. When people saw that they had met in peace before the king, the country, the nobles, and their own family, they looked upon them with misgivings, as if four lions met in a cavern; and apprehended that ruin arising from their mutual enmity was at hand.

In the meantime the king considered *Vahramakhana*⁶⁶ as the best of his sons; he was the youngest, and the object of jealousy of the other two brothers. The king caused him to be brought before him, and when alone, he thus spoke: "O Vahrama! Your eldest brother has been made your enemy by your unfriendly deed. He will remember the harm you have done to him, and will never be your friend, and it is with vain expectation that you are serving the other brother. How can he leave his own son and attend to your interest? Therefore do not commit such wicked acts as will bring misery in future. Leave him without delay, rely on me alone, and employ your time accordingly. Adhere to the path of rectitude, and prosperity will then come unto you. Otherwise O foolish man ! You will be burnt in the fire of their enmity, even like a thing placed in an iron pan full of heated oil." When he heard these words of his father, he thus replied in his folly:—"It appears to me O king ! that Hajyakhana loves me exceedingly like a father. I will never forsake him, but serve him. He will protect me in time of need, and who is at present more powerful than he? "When the king heard this he was angry, and he thus spoke to the son who had made up his mind" Fie to thee, that thou hast discarded me and acknowledged another as thy father! Ah foolish man! On what hast thou fixed thy mind after having disregarded my words? There is no doubt that thy expectation will soon be disappointed." He said this and left him.

Then at a time when the king was alone and was not afraid of any mischief from his son, he thus thought in his own mind: "Alas! From me, bright as a house on fire, have sprung these three sons, and they are like the ashes of a wood fire; unlike me, useless, and without lustre;" and he said aloud:—"What should I do at present?" The wise men who were around him said in reply that his kingdom was being ruined by his sons who were aspiring to the throne, and they asked the king why he did not bestow the kingdom on the one who was most friendly to him, so that neither he nor his subjects might be troubled thereafter.

Even then, they said, Manikyadeva, powerful on account of his wealth, would hear of the newly appointed king, and might turn an enemy and soon cause destruction in the kingdom. The king who knew the characters of his sons replied:—"The eldest has superior qualifications, but he is a miser, and has therefore no worthy servants who can consolidate a kingdom. The second is very liberal, but his expenses are so great that if he had gold as high as the Pradyumna hill, there would not be one *karsha* of it left. The youngest is wickedly inclined and addicted to vice, he would soon ruin the court. I do not consider any of them to be a good and worthy son. I will not bestow the kingdom on any; he who is the strongest will get it when I am dead; this is my purpose. Who will appreciate my worth unless many perish in the conflict after I am gone? Men will then appreciate my peaceful reign. One does not know that the sun has set if darkness does not cover all sides, and men's sight is not blinded, if robbers do not rob, and good people are not alarmed. I have obtained the kingdom by my own power, and have governed it by my intelligence, but by quarrelling among themselves, my wicked sons are destroying every thing. The royal power with its seven constituents, and with its mineral wealth, is like a body with seven limbs and blood; but it is being wasted by the three wicked sons, as by three diseases. There does not exist a good minister today who, like a physician, can restore it to health by nourishment and treatment. I have long enjoyed this kingdom, and have tasted the joys of religion, song, literature, and my life is satiated. I have no other work to do. I have, owing to my love for my subjects, increased all the new productions of the country threefold by means of canal, cultivation, and by other ways. I have always conversed with learned persons for the preservation of the six schools of philosophy, have invited such persons from all places, and granted lands for holy purposes. But as there are gaps between the teeth in the mouth, so there are defects in the government of the country, and they are causing me pain every day. I shall therefore secure

happiness by leaving the kingdom. As a lamp is hateful to the eye of thieves, so have I become hateful to many; but they will soon have to pine for the peace in the country. Even my sons have not been able to remain quiet all this time while I am alive ; they will not die in a hurry ; and I wish to depart from this life so that all my sons may obtain what they desire.

When they heard this speech of the sorrowful king, they again said: "If this be thy intention O king! why have you then kept a great treasure accumulated? Spend them while you are alive and make it pay your way to the next world." When the king heard this he replied that: "That is well said, but listen to the reason why the treasury is kept full. When I am dead, any of my sons who may gain the kingdom will be satisfied with the savings left, and will not covet for the wealth of my subjects who are dearer to me than my sons, and I think it my duty to protect them. I will thus prevent the future oppression of the subjects with the savings I have made. He enjoys whose treasury is full, and when it is drained, he oppresses the subjects. If the lion's hunger is satisfied, he plays within the cavern; but if hungry, he devours the beasts of the forest. One will call me a foresighted man, and will not speak ill of me when the subjects will be free from oppression in future on account of my savings. When the palace is full of riches, men outside it will become rich and will be friendly to their king. If the clouds did not take water from the sea, how could they shower it on the ground? It is always by the means of riches that all the beautiful objects which the king possesses are obtained; the fruits, the leaves, and the flowers that grow on the trees are produced by one cause; the sap within the ground." When those who had questioned the king heard this reply of the experienced sovereign, they were silenced. The king's palace attended by soldiers is like the sea attended by rivers; it is full with various objects, and people come there in quest of those objects. The abundance in all things is the beauty of the palace as of the sea. When afterwards the people found

that all that the king had said was verified, they all were afflicted with sorrow, and recalled his sayings to their mind, and praised his experience.

There was none among the ministers, servants, sons, friends, relatives, and kindred who could console the king. He heard of the affairs of his sons who were enemies to one another, but were now united in hollow friendship; and he remained in the central room of the palace and was afraid to come out. I knew how to explain to the king the way to remove worldly affliction and for nights together he heard from me the Samhita which is the way to salvation. The king was for a time consoled by listening to my explanations, the modulations of my voice, and well turned beautiful passages.

"This appears to me most strange that this Waking illusion of good men like the color of the sky (vacuum) sinks into oblivion in which there is no memory of the past. O son of Raghu! Be it long or be it pleasant, know this mundane existence to be a long dream as unsubstantial as a large imaginary kingdom. If there had been no birth, old age, or death, no fear of separation from the beloved object, and if all had not been fleeting, who would not have wished to have been born in this world? Men will be freed from objects from which they withdraw their desire; a man cannot know of greater happiness than by withdrawing his desire from all earthly things." The king learnt *shlokas* like those mentioned above by listening to my explanations, and also many others which indicated his own condition, and he himself read them. The king heard me read the "way to salvation," and pondered over the meaning of many verses, and on one occasion he told the learned who were about him that some one seemed to whisper to his ear enquiring why he loved his sons, none of whom was friendly to him. He thought to himself: "By eating meat with our teeth, flesh is served with flesh, fend in such meals, which enriches our blood and gives us strength, I see no harm. I am mild in my temper, and I promote the happiness of all, but alas! my sons are attempting my destruction as insects destroy woollen cloth by making holes. None of those with whom I have spent my former

years are left behind; the affliction which I feel for their absence will last to the end of my life. O Muni! My body is like a cottage which is worn out, and is covered with hair as with grass; it is full of rents, and my mind dislikes it in this evil day. The districts of my kingdom have been ruined by my sons, even as the members of the body are bitten by serpents. The only means left to me is to part with them, otherwise there is no peace." After he had thus thought, he composed a book in the Parsi language, named *Shikayata* treating of the vanity of all objects.

The sons of the king's nurse and others of proved and honourable character left the party of the king and went over to *Hajyakhana*. What else need be said, those shameless men who were seen with the king during daytime, were at night found seated at ease before Khana. The king remained indifferent to the affairs of the kingdom, and his servants reviled one another, and consequently there was a tumult in the country. When the king was in danger who would not go over to his sons, as if hoping to obtain thereby one-half of the kingdom? Thus thought the king, and he was ignorant of the true movements of his servants, and became disgusted with all the members of his family. He who was seen today to be with the king, was heard of as attending the Khana the next morning. Like the Sarasa birds the servants no where remained steady. The king did not find a single servant devoted to him, who could give him consolation, and to whom he could describe the troubles of his heart. The people came to the palace unopposed and uttered words such as had never been uttered before, and spoke of things such as had never been seen or heard of before. Bahramkhana, by his various acts of duplicity and by his eagerness to foment quarrel between his brothers, became like Karna, the source of evil. A stick of wood, if it contains oil, will give light, but does that light last long? Does it not spread darkness on all sides with its smoke?

It was to protect the king that Adamakhana had come, and protection was expected from him, but he was

incapable of protecting himself. He informed the king one day that *Bahmana* had joined his brother *Hajyakhana*, and had sought by cruel stratagem to destroy him, and that he (*Adamakhana*) had no other course left but to seek the king's protection. From *Bahrama* he had no hope of life, and he therefore asked the king to save him. If the king reigned in the kingdom, *Adamakhana* feared nothing. But the people eager to engage in a battle between the brothers were on that day coming to attack him, and he was overcome with fear at the news. Thus informed, the king replied that he had no attachment for his own kingdom or for his own life, and he called *Adamakhana* a coward, and advised him to go and save himself, and told him that he need not have come to him. Thus rebuked by the king, *Adamkhana* went to *Kudmadtnapuri*,⁶⁷ and kept himself on the watch, afraid of an attack from his younger brother. The king had thought that this ambitious man *Adamakhana* was worthy of his protection, hoping to find comfort in him and expecting that he would remove the king's fear of his enemies. But *Adamakhana* was himself assailed by his enemies, he was like a horse afraid of the harness, and became a cause of trouble; and the king was surprised to hear that his other two sons thought that he had taken their elder brother, the object of their hatred, near him out of his fear of them. Neither the king, nor the king's son, nor the ministers could sleep owing to mutual fear. The servants did not serve in accordance with orders but tried to please their masters by words only, and when the servants did perform the duties ordered by the king, he would declare that he did not remember what he had ordered. He left off the old practice of signing his orders, and knowing the unsettled state of his mind, he left the administration to his ministers. "The wicked men have set the fire of enmity to my house, and have received pay from both sides, but they do not care to quench the fire. Let my ministers and my sons perish; I helped them to prosper, and they now wish to obtain my kingdom and will rejoice in my ruin." Thus sighing, and unsettled in mind,

sorrowful, and devoted to religious meditation, the king wished that they might all perish. The citizens exclaimed that the king was indifferent to everything, that his sons were engaged in mutual enmity, and that a great calamity had befallen them. When the month of fasting for the *Yavanas* arrived the king left off taking meat, and reflected thus: "Those who brought this wicked son from a distant country, are, alas ! for their own interest destroying my whole kingdom. On one side of the city are the two sons with their combined army, and on the other side is one son alone attended by wicked men and wicked ministers. A great calamity has come I the sons will fight, but I am sorry for this city which should, like a good wife, be guarded. What would be the use of my living if the city be destroyed while I am alive? The servants who were devoted to me, and strong, are all gone, whom shall I ask for advice and what shall I do? The king's mind was afflicted by these anxious thoughts and by sorrow caused thereby. Stricken by such grief, the king, who was solicitous for the welfare of his kingdom, became like one inanimate. The city, with its population old and young, was agitated with alarm on account of many evil news; it was like a boisterous sea which the king could not calm.

On the next day when *Shivabhatta* brought the king his meals, the king became angry and said that he had eaten what he could eat, and told him to take the food away. In the excess of his anxiety the king became distrustful even of a shadow. He heard that the ministers intended to rise against him, but he took no care of his own life. For a few days he remained like one whose intellect was gone, and when questioned by his friends, he made reply to none. On one occasion when the ministers asked him some questions about the affairs of the state, he uttered some words without meaning, and as if oppressed with illness he laid himself exhausted on the bed. The physicians did not know the cause nor the symptoms of his illness, but I think he took the vow of fasting in order to get himself rid of his affliction. High as lofty trees, yielding food with extended

arms, of high renown, and beloved of Brahmanas as the trees are beloved of birds, the good kings are struck down by evil fate as by a gale. In the meantime the three sons disorganised all the seven *constituents of the kingdom*, as terrible diseases destroy the humours of the body. The Rajputs⁶⁸ were alarmed, and came every day, with many soldiers, and found the king in his miserable plight and almost dumb. The king was afraid of his sons, but in order to give an audience to all, he was placed in his wretched condition before the gate of the palace, with his elephants and horses. Men belonging to the palace and those outside thronged to see the king; they heard the sound of religious festivities, and beheld the king with gladness, as one beholds the moon on the second day after the new moon. Behramkhana became alarmed when he heard of this, and came near to the palace, but he knew by the symptoms that the king was on the point of death. He then went to a distance and thus said to his brother: "Our father will not live; he fell on the ground before the gate, and was almost dumb and unconscious. Vainly is he being raised up by the cunning people. Therefore arise, and let us go to the yard of the king's palace clad in iron mail, and bind the wicked ministers, and take possession of the horses and of other things. We will cut down the bridge of boats, and that will prove the ruin of your elder brother." When *Hajyakhana* heard this, he said: "This should not be spoken before me. I do not even in dream wish any harm to my father and king". He then spent one night in grief with his father.

Then when *Adamakhana* heard the report that his father was dead, he moved with his army towards Shri Jainanagara with a view to usurp his father's kingdom. In the way he caused his soldiers to be clad in armour for his own defence. He then passed one night secretly in a house at the outskirts of the capital. In the meantime, *Hassans*, the treasurer, blinded by self-interest and deceiving others, took oath to Shri Hajyakhana and sought his shelter. On the next day the eldest brother, driven by the ministers,

reached *Kudmadinapuri*⁶⁹ with his army; but there his good fortune left him. Though he was the eldest and possessed of a strong intellect, though himself a hero endowed with unusual energy and patience, and attended by followers, he was still unable to perform any signal deed in the time of action; for men devoid of virtue cannot achieve success. Had *Adamakhana* killed a guard that night and captured the horses, he would have got the kingdom. But the intelligence of a man is according to his merit.

In the meantime *Hajyakhana* sent by the treasurer and his youngest brother, went into the yard of the palace, and took possession of his father's horses. When those servants of the prince, who had been impatient for fight, heard of the news of the capture of the animals, they suited their action to the time, clad themselves in armour and entered the palace. *Abhimanyu*, the *Pratihara*, and others reviled them, but they were soon punished by the confusion that followed. *Hajyakhana* with his army remained Thursday outside the palace, afraid of a rising, and though he was anxious to see the king he could not do so.

Then when *Adamakhana* heard of this news, he became alarmed. He was in a defenceless condition, and despairing of success, he went with his followers by the road leading to *Vipulata*. Surrounded by his own men, *Adamakhana* marched by the way of *Tarabala*. His younger brother pursued him and killed many of his soldiers. When *Abhimanyu* the *Pratihara* and others beheld the superhuman prowess of *Adamakhana*, they found that he fulfilled what his name implied. He killed many men in his anger, and their corpses were heaped in the caverns of the mountain. In the meantime Prince *Hassanakhana*, resplendent with many virtues, soon passed over *Parnotsa* and came within *Kashmira*. The tree growing on barren soil is dried up by the heat of summer, and becomes sapless, and casts no shadow, and is forsaken by travellers; but when nourished by the copious waters of the rainy

season it is decked with flowers, it shelters men from the heat, and becomes enjoyable. As a river is equally accessible from both its banks, even so the kingdom was hitherto accessible to the two belligerents, but now it became favourable to one party. Thus by the conduct of the two brothers, victories and defeats were brought about by fate in a way which the people had not anticipated. Who does not wish for a son? And when a son is born, who does not feel both happiness and anxiety on his account, and does not strive by various means to bring up the child? But alas! when the child is grown up, he seeks through his avarice to obtain his father's wealth, and is even anxious for the time when the father would die, and considers him as a hindrance in his way.

At this time the king, surrounded by a few servants, remained without any anxiety, as if he had not heard of the reports which had reached him. He gave out that owing to illness his voice had failed and he had lost the power of decision. His beauty was gone, and he became like the moon when near its end. It was owing to the misfortune of his subjects and for the affliction of all, that the king, shorn of his beauty and suffering from malady, appeared like the sun about to set at the end of the kalpa. By the quivering of his lips it was known that he was praying, and he *expired at noon on Friday, on the twelfth day of the moon, in the month of Jaishtha.*⁷⁰ At the time of his death, Fortune seemed to abandon all his limbs and appeared on his face, and I saw him in that state. His face met thought was the dwelling place of the goddess of Fortune, and perspiration issued from it, even like a stream of good luck. His breath left him, taking his life with it, and as if afraid of having stolen that jewel. After life had departed, tears still issued from his eyes, as if his eyes which were like the sun and the moon melted away and his affection for his subjects trickled down.

King Shri Jaina reigned happily for fifty-two years, and went to heaven in the year 46. The corpse was placed in a

litter and was borne on men's shoulders, and on it were placed the umbrella and the chamara, and they looked like the sun and the moon dropped from the sky in their sorrow. At that time the ministers, servants, slaves, and citizens offered oblation to the dead in tears of lamentation. The king had obtained the kingdom in the month of Jaishtha in the year 96; and the period of the sun's course towards the north ended with him. He had counted sixty-nine years, and the beauty of the flowing black beard was still seen on his face. After death his body became a corpse and he became a Shiva. Such was the king that was borne on a litter and, adorned with umbrella and chamara, was brought by the weeping ministers to the burial ground, where the previous kings looked beautiful as in sleep, and the earth, as if out of affection for her lords, had received them in her bosom. *All* sides resounded with the loud lamentation of the sorrowing citizens as if with the noise of sounding brass. Within the city no other voice was heard than the cry of "O king! O life of the people! Where art thou going, leaving thy subjects behind." The ears of the men were incessantly filled with these cries, so that they sometimes seemed to hear the cries in the air. The king was then lifted from the litter which had been borne on men's shoulders, and was covered with cloth, and laid within the bowels of the earth beside his father. The people looked on the face of the king with tearful eyes, and, as required by their rites, they threw a handful of earth on him; as if to indicate that there would be no other king like him, and that the world was ruined by his death. Monarchs who had conquered powerful enemies in battle, had covered the earth with riches, and had given wealth to all; who had built cities named after them, and were well known in other countries; who had long reigned in the country possessed of the seven component parts of royalty, leave all behind in the end, and receive only the winding sheet for their portion. Scorched by a hostile country, as by a forest fire, the deceased king enjoyed the sleep of ease in the cool interior of the grave-yard.

Hajyakhana saw the face of his father graced by fortune, and appearing as if in sleep, and for seven nights he performed the rite of *mastaka*. He exclaimed :—"O father! Bent on wickedness I have many a time transgressed against thee, and methinks you have left me in your anger, and have gone to heaven alone. Admirable is king *Shekandhara* who is in heaven and now beholds thee. Fie to me O king! that I am deprived of the sight of thee. No where O father! at the time of festivity did you enjoy yourself without me ; how then do you now enjoy the pleasures of heaven alone? You could not obtain sleep on a soft bed and surrounded by men, how can you now sleep on the gravel in the midst of those buried in the earth? When I left you and returned to my house, who did not curse me in anger saying that we two might not speak to each other again? We wicked sons always kept you sleepless, and art thou now having thy long sleep? O king! Your person was consumed with ever present anxiety; has that anxiety of yours been now transferred to another? O father! I see thy face in the portrait and in my imagination, but where shall I, who have so much sinned against thee, hear thy voice? Without thee O master! my kingdom is a thing of danger to me, the day is night, the good garden is a cemetery, and life is death. Come O father! and show thyself to me, be thou angry or propitious. I am unable to bear this death-like pain of separation. O father! Where hast thou gone leaving me, thy servant, behind; the lotus bud does not expand without the sun. Art thou angry O king? I am thy servant bent on serving thee; and in consideration of my excessive solicitude speak but one word to me, for without thee I shall not live."

Thus the prince lamented, and performed the rites of the *bhuju* night; he gazed on the face of the king for a long time and wept aloud. Thus loudly lamenting, *Hajyakhana* was overcome with grief, and when the day declined the ministers forcibly took him to the palace. For the benefit of his deceased father, the son, while yet he was on the burial ground, gave away his own village of *Salora* for the supply

of drinking water to the people in the hot season; and for the services of those who provided the water, he permanently endowed lands in that village and allotted them for a religious purpose. At this time the sun, as if unable to look upon the earth without a king, set in the sea; and the earth casting away her garment of evening cloud, spread the gloom of the evening which was even like her dishevelled hair to weep in sorrow for the king. A darkness prevailed in the kingdom at the death of the king. He had raised high hopes in men, he was of princely appearance, and a friend of the men of merit. No one cooked his food that day, no smoke arose from the houses, all were dumb with grief and breathless. Such was the state of the capital which seemed to be without life.

A long crystal stone was placed in the grave-yard, it was the highest among those that were there, and was like the figure of the king in a recumbent position, and it was illumined with verses. Men came to see the place out of curiosity and they lamented and shed tears on the king, which looked like offerings of pearls. It was Friday when the citizens went to the grave-yard, and their images were beautifully reflected on the stone, as if the king out of curiosity had drawn them near to him. The people remembered the king's breast broad as door panel, his face beautiful as the full moon, the tip of his long nose like the beak of the Suka bird, the eyes tender as the lotus, his hairy eye-brows and forehead bright with auspicious signs, and his intellect and his qualifications, and his attention to kingly duties. All these came to their mind as if they were standing before the king himself; and they spoke lightly of the world, as devoid of worth and substance. If the moon beams of the full moon, the beauty of the flowers of spring, the purity of the autumnal sky, the budding youth of women, and the rule of a wise king,—all these that afford happiness to men,—were made lasting by fate, men would not long for heaven. In his boyhood, the king lost his father, and apprehended mischief from the principal minister, and was involved in a quarrel with his brothers

and servants. *He was living in foreign countries when he got the kingdom;*⁷¹ then there was a distressing war with his elder brother; his nurse's sons then caused him anxiety; and afterwards the opposition of his sons lasted till his death. Fie to the life of living beings on this earth, ever attended with sorrow, and ever causing tears to flow from the eye! Mars was the planet that cast an evil eye towards his sons, it was no doubt owing to the position of the stars at his nativity that he suffered so much affliction from the hands of his children.

All the king's learned men and even the poets who were ever so eloquent, became silent when the king was gone, even as kokilas are found mute in the month of Pausha. The books of the learned, which, even like the eyes of the goddess of learning, had ever remained open [during the king's reign] were now tied up and became shrunk. There were men who in order to win the king's favour had worked in logic, in grammar, and in other branches of learning for the benefit of the vernacular of the country, and who had been honoured by the king and had enjoyed ease and prosperity in their homes. They had exerted themselves, day and night, to obtain books, and had learnt the shastras, and when questioned on the subject of their study, could make recitations from their books. But where was grammar, where were the discussions of logic, and where was the labour in the cause of literature after king *Shri Jaina* died? That king who was the master of all learning, who was benevolent to men, accessible, meritorious, and liberal, the king who knew the literature of many languages, who was favourable to the men of merit, and untiring in work of kindness and of virtue,—that king, alas ! is now laid on the ground. Fie to us, sinful and depraved in our hearts ! Overcome by the love of the world, we still live therein, and do not fly to the wilderness in sorrow. As the bosom of a woman does not look graceful without a necklace, nor the intellect without learning, nor the expanded lotus flowers without the sun, nor the human body without youth, nor the night without the moon, nor a

wife without her husband, even so the kingdom of *Kashmira* did not look graceful without its king. Good men felt sorrowful at heart, and found no rest ; and they always lamented and said that king *Shri Jainolabhadena* was the greatest among all sovereigns, that he was versed in all learning and loved the study of logic and other branches of knowledge, and that he consequently shone in the glory of the learned. He was distinguished by his desire to see learned men collected around him, and by his wish to bestow gifts and honors on them, as well as by his well deserved fame. They said that he had consolidated *Kashmira*, and had gone as if to consolidate heaven which was in a state of confusion. The royal family, like a bamboo group in a garden, decked by variegated grass and a profusion of leaves, was an object of beauty for a long time; but alas ! domestic broils, like a fire caused by friction, burnt all the things in the garden from one end to the other. The officers of *Shri Jaina*, owing to his curse, melted away within one year, even like a dream; and in the kingdom which was disturbed at his death, only in a hundred of his servants remained, even like jewel in the ocean, often is agitated by a gale. Servants remain with their master and honor him as long as he who supports them remains in power. The bee, the kikila, and the frog hail the spring with their voice as long as spring lasts on earth. Even these few servants of the king who remain.

Here ends the first book named the account of *Jainashahi* of *Jainarajatarangini* composed by *Pandita Shrivara*.

Notes & References (provided by Prof. Gulshan Majeed):

1. Jonaraja
2. Shrivara
3. It is how the medieval chronicles describe the reach and power of their king
4. Kumudu- Lotus flower- Kamala
5. Vishva Karmma: Omnificent Personification of creative power. Rigveda under this epithet describes him as the one, "all-seeing good, who has on every side eyes, faces arms and feet, who, when producing heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and wings, the father, generator disposer, who knows all worlds, gives the gods their names and is beyond the comprehension of all mortals. Mahabharata describes him as the lord of the arts executor of thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans In his creative capacity he is sometimes designated Prajapati. He also has the applications Karu (workman); Takshaka (wood cutter); Devo-varidika (the builder of the gods, Sudhanwan (having a good bow). The Puranas present him as the son of Prabhasa, the eight vasu whose daughter Sanjana was married to Surya (the sun).
6. The famous Buddhist scholar who is supposed to have visited Kashmir during the presumed reign of Kanishka.
7. A plucked stringed instrument comprising resonator an arched/angled neck – and strings of graded length that are perpendicular to the sound board.
8. One of the three districts into which Kashmir valley was divided before 1977. Areas constituting district Baramulla.
9. Maraz in the South of Srinagar.
10. Muslims.
11. [Here it is said that a portion of the MS from which the text has been printed is destroyed by time (JC Dutt)].
12. The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir mention his fourth son named Jasrata Khan who seems to have died young.
13. The Madava varvan in Kishtawar.

14. The king had four sons from his two queens who hailed from Madardish (for the identification of Madar see ft no----- Vol. I; Udham Khan was the eldest and Jasrath Khan, the youngest.
15. Haji Khan, the second son of the King.
16. Behram Khan, the third son of the King.
17. Description of the canon introduced in Kashmir as early as in 1465 much before Babar, the Mughal used it against Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat-I.
18. Modern Punuch.
19. Batyun, Ladakh.
20. Ladakh.
21. Lohrin.
22. Language of Muslims of the period, i.e. Persian.
23. Rajouri.
24. Falling in the territory of Pruntsa reachable through Tosmaidan pass.
25. Modern name *Hurapura* (Shopian).
26. On Ranbyar.
27. Pallashila, above Shopian on way to Rajouri.
28. Read Rajasthanya.
29. The warlords and feudal-lords like *Damras* and *Tantrins* occupied important posts as always.
30. Read Pallashila
31. Good actions lead to liberation from birth and death.
32. 1460 AD.
33. 1462/63.
34. Vethi Truwah
35. Kutb-u-Dinapura.
36. The famous Bejbehara festival.
37. Son pandit of *Zaina Charit*.
38. Gus, near Sharda on Kishan Ganga.
39. Pradman hill.
40. Sadra Kot near Hajin.
41. Baramula including Ushkar.

42. Near Nishat in the lap of Zabarvan.
43. Telbal.
44. Triphar village about 3 miles upon Dal.
45. Sona Lank and Rupa Lank.
46. Maha Sarovar-vitasta Sangam or Mari Sangam.
47. [A line appears to be wanting here in the text (JC Dutt)].
48. Masulmans.
49. In its lap lies Kounsarnag.
50. Kounsarnag.
51. Zaina Trag, Pampur.
52. Mathankot (Panjab).
53. Khalji, Mahmood Khalji (req. 839-873 AH).
54. Perhaps the Kashmir language.
55. Ruler of Gawalyar Dongrasin.
56. Bahlul Ludhi (reg. 839-873 AH).
57. Khurasan.
58. Sultan Muhammad Shah of Gujrat.
59. Ruler of Gilan and Azurbhaijan –Jehan Shah.
60. Identified with Pashm.
61. On the confluence of Lolou and Kamil river on Kishenganga.
62. A small principality or city in Iran. The same place to which Shamsu-Din Iraki is associated.
63. Sopur.
64. Could be Bied or Badi (elder) Khatoon. She was from Baihaqi family. In one of the inscriptions on his grave. She is called Makhdooma Khatoon.
65. Muslims.
66. Behram Khan.
67. Qutb-u-Din Pura.
68. Read Rajisthaniya.
69. Qutb-u-Din Pura.
70. 27th May 1470 AD.
71. In Court of Amir Taimur at Sammarqand.